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CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

KINSHIP GROUPS AND POLITICAL DIVISIONS

[594] The smallest social grouping in the Rif is, of course, the biological family, consisting of father, mother, and offspring; but the importance of this fundamental group is often obscured by the large family group called *awar* (plural *iwaren*), or "vein."[1] The *vein* consists of a father, his wives, descendants, and descendants' wives, and his brothers, their wives, descendants, and descendants' wives. Since Riffian society is patrilineal and families are [591] usually patronymic, daughters who have married into another *vein* become affiliated with the group into which they have married, and offspring of these daughters are considered to belong to their fathers' *veins*. When the brothers composing the oldest generation in a *vein* die, it splits into as many *veins* as there were brothers. Thus the sons of each deceased brother become the brothers forming the elder stratum of the new *vein*. In this way during the course of generations a single union of a man and his wife may give rise to numerous related *veins*.

These related *veins* collectively take the name of *ighs* (plural *ikhsan*), or "bone."[2] The *bone* is, however, something more important than a mere collection of related *veins*. In regions of sedentary life it generally takes the form of a village, or politically independent section of a village, and may include *veins* descended not only from the eponymous ancestor of the *bone* but also from strangers who have been adopted into the *bone*. The arrival of these strangers who become ancestors of spurious *veins* is due to the Riffian custom of selling property in order to pay fines or blood money assessed by the governing body. A man who has sold all his landed property and livestock in order to meet such an obligation feels ashamed to remain in his own village and often fears reprisal for his offence, and migrates, generally swiftly and secretly, to some other part of the Rif. When he has arrived at a sufficiently distant village, he hires himself out to a landowner in that village, or, if he seems to be a valuable potential adjunct to the village's military forces, is given land by popular subscription. He thus becomes a member of the *bone* into which his ill-fortune has thrust him, and is expected to marry into this *bone*, generally taking as wife a daughter of the man who first employed and sheltered him, if that man happens to have a daughter available. The newcomer and his wife become the forebears of a new *vein* in the *bone*, and this new *vein* may in turn split time after time until the *bone* contains a large number of alien *veins*. The *veins* descended from strangers exist under the disadvantage that they are not allowed any part in the government,[3] but are at the same time expected to contribute

[1] "Vein" is the literal translation of this word. I have discovered no sociological term in the English language exactly comparable to it, and hence have decided that to translate it literally, and to render this translation consistently throughout, will be less confusing to the reader than to leave it in its Berber form. In describing a highly complex social organization such as is found in the Rif clarity is of greater importance than philological exactitude.

[2] "Bone" is the literal translation, and has been retained through lack of any exact equivalent, although either "sib" or "gens" might be loosely applied. The endogamic character of the bone is not implied in either of these terms.

[3] Wherever the Riffian type of government is found, this is true. Under the Arab system the stranger restriction naturally cannot apply.

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their full share to any martial activity in which the *bone* participates; regarding this lack of balance as unfair, members of alien *veins* split off from the parent *bone* whenever possible, forming new *bones* with their own local government, and, in the course of time, with equal consideration in the larger governmental institutions. The new *bone* thus created may take as its name that of the wife of the adopted alien ancestor, since it was his wife and not he who belonged to the original indigenous strain. In that way one may explain many of the matronymic *bones* which occur frequently in the Rif.

Splitting of one *bone* into several may occur, however, without the necessity of alien immigration. If the *bone* becomes too large to be conveniently administered, if discord arises between two or more parties of *veins*, or if some of the *veins* migrate, voluntarily or through pressure, to a new locality, the *bone* splits up.

Sometimes a *vein* divides, some of the brothers staying at home and others migrating. In this case the original *vein* may never expand sufficiently to take on the status of a *bone*, whereas the brothers who migrated may have had numerous progeny and have become, in a relatively short time, the ancestors of separate *bones*. An example of this is the family of *Oshannen*, or jackals, a *vein* of the *bone* of Tiddest in Ikhuanen of Gzennaya. Two members of the Oshannen migrated, one going to Temsaman and the other to Beni Said. Now, the Oshannen of Temsaman and the Oshannen of Beni Said are not only separate *bones* in these tribes but have furthermore risen to the highest administrative authority in them. The Kaid Bu Kaddur of Temsaman and the Kaid Moh Amar n Woshun of Beni Said are both descendants of the original migrants from the *vein* of Oshannen of Tiddest.

A different situation is found in the tribes of Beni Tuzin, Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Galiya, Kebdana, and, to a slight extent, Beni Said. Among these tribes are found both *veins* and *bones* composed of strangers called *igharbiyen*, reputed to be of Arab origin. The Igharbiyen are allowed an equal part in the government, and are in no way discriminated against as are members of alien Riffian *veins* among the *bones* of the central Rif. In Beni Said, however, an exception to this is found. The Igharbiyen among the Beni Said are few in number, and are subject not only to the restriction against alien *veins* which is found in the central Rif, but also to that against their *bones*, which are not allowed a part in higher councils.

Families of Zenatan origin in Beni Tuzin, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Gzennaya, Temsaman, Beni Said and Beni Bu Ifrur of Galiya, are subject to no discrimination whatever. The single families of Zenata in Gzennaya, Temsaman, and Beni Bu Ifrur are given the standing of *bones*.

Although one finds in the Rif numerous *bones* of immigrant groups, both Igharbiyen and Zenata, no trace of any moiety organization is visible, even among the Beni Tuzin, whose very name, *Ashi Uzin*, means, in their own language, "the children of the half." [1]

Next after the *bone*, which is a true family group and is dependent upon kinship and adoption, comes the division known as *arrba'* (plural *roboa'*), derived from the Arabic word meaning "a fourth." In the present volume it will be called "canton." [2] The *canton* is a group of *bones* which may or may not be related in blood; it occupies a single geographical

[1] See p. 36, n. 7.

[2] Here again is a term with no ready equivalent. I have avoided "fourth," the literal translation, because such a designation would imply that it is greater than the *fifth*, when the opposite is true. Furthermore, there is no extant valid reason for the name *fourth* in Berberized Arabic. "Canton" seems to express the idea of geographical and political unity without an implication of kinship, and hence is applied to the present social phenomenon.

For comment on this, see the 111 slip. – Analyst

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unit-area, such as a valley with its contiguous mountains up to their crests. Relationship between the *bones* composing a *canton* depends on whether or not the *bone* of oldest standing has split to form other groups, and whether or not immigrant *bones* have entered or been formed by the enlargement of *veins* descended from strangers. In most *cantons* one finds both related and unrelated *bones*. Loyalty within the *canton* is seldom very strong, and in many if not most instances wars have been fought within *cantons*.

Beyond the *canton* one finds a still larger division, the *thakhemesth* (plural *thikhemesin*), or "fifth,"[1] so called because each *thakhemesth* in the tribe receives one fifth of the booty after a successful tribal war, and because tribes which are divided into *fifths* always contain five such divisions. This group again is dependent upon geography rather than upon blood, although many *bones* in the same *fifth*, even in different *cantons*, are allied by marriage and hence in war.

Beyond the *fifth* is the tribe, called *thakabitch*, a word derived from the Arabic *kabila*.[2] In most cases the tribe is equivalent to one *fifth*, and the latter word is not used, the term *thakabitch* being applied directly above *canton*. The tribes divided into five *fifths* are Galiya, Temsaman, Beni Urriaghel, and Gzennaya. Those of Galiya are Mazuza, Ait Shisher, Beni Bu Yafer, Beni Bu Ifrur, and Beni [illegible]del. Those of Beni Urriaghel are Aith Yusuf u Ari, Aith Abdullah, Aith Ari, Imrabten, and Beni Bu Ayesh. Those of Gzennaya are Beni Yunes, Beni Asem, Beni Mohammed, Imsdurar, and Asht Aru u Issa. In naming these *fifths* I have given the names most commonly known to the outside world, Berber or Arab as the case may be. In Temsaman there are really but two actual *fifths*, Truguth and Hathith n Temsaman. The other three so-called *fifths* are merely combinations of two *bones* each, classed in pairs for the sole purpose of dividing spoils. These are Asht Daud and Sidi Shaib u Ftah, Bu Thinar and Oshannen, and Amzauru and Tizi Azza. They are given this special standing because Temsaman is too powerful to be relegated to the position of a single *fifth*, and because these *bones* are able to support their position by arms.

SOCIAL CLASSES

The Riffians, democratic as they are, nevertheless distinguish several social classes between which marriage is forbidden. The vast body of Riffians, whether descended from old Riffian stock, from Senhaja, Zenata, or Igharbiyen, consider themselves socially more or less equal, and do not hesitate, when exogamy is desirable for purposes of alliance, to take wives from other *bones*. Yet there is a definite lower class, considered to be not only immigrant but Negroid as well, with which alliances are, in some tribes (Gzennaya, Beni Amart, Beni Urriaghel, and Temsaman), strictly forbidden, and in others are followed by the social debasement of the Riffian marrying among them. These are the so-called *imazilen* (singular *amazil*) or "Shameless Ones,"[3] who carry on the three hereditary trades of blacksmithing, piping at weddings, and acting as public criers, measurers and weighers in markets. All these trades require a degree of publicity, of self-exposure in crowds — and since the Riffian

[1] The literal translation, "fifth," applies so well here that I have retained it. Most authorities call this division a "fraction," but the latter term is frequently confused in meaning, being also given as an equivalent for *arrba'*, and not carrying with it a clear picture of what particular sub-division of the tribe is meant.

[2] Here the word "tribe" forms a sufficiently exact equivalent.

[3] The chief quality of this class, which the Riffians always mention first in describing them, is their lack of shame. Hence the term "Shameless Ones" will be used throughout to designate them.

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623 The councillors go in a body, taking with them twenty or more girls adept at singing and dancing, hired musicians, a bull or cow, two or three mules laden with bread, and quantities of tea, sugar, and candles. The cost of the presents and the fees of the musicians are paid out of money collected in fines.

DUTIES OF THE TRIBAL COUNCIL

646 692 The task of the tribal council is to render judgment, exact fines, and destroy property in cases of adultery caught in the act, murder, and woundings; to make decisions as to tribal alliances in warfare; and to interfere with internal fights in other tribes.

Adultery caught in the act. A husband who surprises his wife in the act of adultery has 684 the traditional privilege of killing the man, removing his genitals and placing them in the mouth of his corpse, killing his wife, and ripping her from pubis to diaphragm with a knife. 837 This action is a privilege and not a duty. Many husbands are physically unable to do so; others are disinclined; still others mutilate their wives by cutting off the fleshy parts of their noses and let them go. One instance is known in Gzennaya of a man who thrust live coals into his wife's vagina and then released her. In at least half the cases, recently at any rate, no revenge is taken on the woman, her divorce and disgrace being considered ample punishment.

When the members of the tribal council hear of this event, they leave whatever they are 646 doing and go as rapidly as possible to the adulterer's house. This they burn; they impose a 684 fine of one thousand dollars or thereabouts, depending on the usage of the tribe, and on the 692 importance of the *bone*. The fine is accepted either in cash, livestock, land, or in all three. When land and livestock are taken they are sold on the spot, not by bidding but by arbitrary prices, fair to the victim, placed on each animal or portion of land. If the proceeds of the sale exceed the amount of the fine, the balance is returned to the *bone* of the adulterer. If the adulterer and the adulteress belong to different *bones* the burden of the fine is shared between the *bones*. If the adulterer has survived the vengeance of the injured man he must T586 leave the tribe forever. Women who survive go back to their families, forcibly divorced and forbidden to marry again.

After the cash of the fine is in hand, it is divided among the *fifths*, each receiving an 684 equal share, to be divided evenly among each *canton* composing the *fifth*. Thus the *canton* of the offenders receives back a portion of the money which some of its members have paid. It often refuses to accept this, in which case the money goes to the actual payers. *Cantons* friendly with that of the adulterer may likewise refuse to accept, and their money too is returned.

646 692 683 *Wounding.* When one man wounds another, the tribal council comes to the offender's house and exacts a fine of five hundred dollars after questioning the councillor or councillors belonging to the offending *bone*. The fine is always paid by the *bone* as a whole, whether the blood money is or not.

646 692 683 *Murder.* When one man murders another, whether or not in retaliation for a previous murder, the tribal council comes to his house, which it burns, providing it dares to. It cuts down the fruit trees and inflicts a fine of a thousand dollars. If the man and his *bone* refuse to pay the fine and resist the burning of the house or the cutting of the trees, the members of the tribal council attack them. This fight may last anywhere from a half hour to several months, and may turn into a war. If the *bone* which has refused has no allies, it seldom wins,

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but there are few *bones* without allies. The allies in the tribal council draw apart as inconspicuously and as quickly as possible and start shooting at the rest of the tribal council. The *bone* which has refused sends messengers to talk with various councillors and to persuade them to join their side, promising money and women. In this way there are generally two sides fighting each other before the day is over, and they stay there and fight until one side has won. If the tribal council wins and succeeds in burning the house of the murderer, it burns the rest of the houses of the *bone* as well, and cuts down as many of its trees as it desires.

The *bone* then flees in a body to another *fifth*, to another tribe, or out of the Rif entirely. If the members, thinking already of vengeance, cannot stand the sight of their trees being cut down and their houses being caved in, they select a bull from the herd which they are driving into exile with them and entrust it to the leader of the mosque or to a student, who leads it back into the presence of the tribal council and slaughters it there. If this is done the tribal council is compelled to let them go back again and to permit them to pay the fine. Once the bull is slaughtered the tree-cutting and other destruction must cease. Many *bones* are too proud either to pay or to send a bull, so that they become destitute and homeless through their pride, providing they are not strong enough to defend themselves against the tribal council.

A *bone* may thus be expelled from a tribe, permanently or temporarily. A *bone* which is continually making trouble and causing feuds may be the subject of a special meeting of the tribal council, which decides to exile it from the tribe either permanently or for a given number of years. Killing people on Mohammedan feast days or during the month of Ramadan is one of the strongest reasons for the expulsion of a *bone*.

This habit of exiling *bones* has been going on for so long that there are today numerous colonies of exiled Riffians living outside the Rif. Such are colonies of Beni Urriaghel in Oran and in Tangier; of Beni Amart in Ain Leuh, on the Wergha, of Beni Amart and Beni Hadifa at Armeila, on Wed Teberis; of Beni Tuzin at Zerhoun; of Temjunt of Gzennaya in Ain Mediuna (Beni Gzin); of Beni Yunes of Gzennaya at el Kob, in the Senhajan tribe of Beni Ulid; and the Ulad Abd el Mumen of Iherrushen of Gzennaya at el Mta outside of Fez. Most of these exiles could now go back if they so wished, but they have been away for so long, in many cases for generations, that they no longer have any desire to return.

Sometimes a murder spreads into a feud and from a feud into a war so rapidly that before a tribal council can come together to deliberate the councillors find themselves fighting on one side or another, in a tribal war.

Murder often leads to immediate revenge, and immediate revenge to a feud between *bones*. The feud may be a bitter one, in fact a pitched battle, in which may join other *bones* allied of old to one or other of the principal combatants. Most allies, however, are made anew on the occasion of each war. An alliance is called *liff*; it belongs more properly under the heading of magic than under that of political organization, but must be discussed at this point if the complexities of Riffian warfare are to be understood.

A *liff* is a shame-compulsion laid by one *bone* on another, a magical act which forces the second *bone* into alliance with, or at least toleration of, the other. By making *liff* with a number of other *bones*, a *bone* may increase its fighting force many times, and by both sides industriously making *liff* with others, a general war starts, in which there may not remain enough of the tribal council to make its convening worth while.

5: Blanco Izaga

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[For additional information on the function of the jma'th as a counseling body, see Category 623.]

Moreover, even though many jural details of life during the 'Ripublik' have now been forgotten, many attitudes and values of that era, which, as noted, lasted until the advent of 'Abd al-Krim in 1921, are still fully present. The Rifian keeps an iron grip on what belongs to him, and this applies particularly to his womenfolk, who, albeit highly respected, are kept equally secluded and segregated. Also, his land, poor as it may be, is his own and no one else's, in true "territorial imperative" style. But especially with the coming of the protectorate, the values underlying the bloodfeud, which was once the dominant political institution of the society, were channeled into the newer direction of labor migration: in the old days of the 'Ripublik', a man had to kill his enemy to make his mark, while more recently he had to go out and get a job. (Until 1962 and Algerian Independence, work on the farms of French colons in that country was the favored mode and region of labor migration, while since that time the current has shifted to Western Europe.)

The Aith Waryaghar uprising against the Indepent Moroccan Government in 1958-1959 - which was forcibly put down by the new Royal Army in its first post-Independence test of strength - was a graphic indication, at the tribal level, that the old values of Rifian "apartness" within the wider national Moroccan society are still resistant to change, for despite its "modern" objectives, the uprising itself was carried out in a "traditional", "take-to-the-hills" manner. And these same values are even more discernible, today as in Blanco's time, at the level of the jma'th, the local community. Community life among the Aith Waryaghar is both intense and inner-directed, as, for

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671 example, the qanuns of Lower Thamasind, of Imhawren and the Inter-
114 Lineage Pact of Thazurakhth (all in LR) clearly show. And that such
621 community and inter-community life can also be constructive, as well
421 as vengeance-oriented and destructive, is amply shown by Blanco's truly excellent analysis of Aith Waryaghar irrigation rights, especially with respect to the "intermittent" and intercalated rights of a particular lineage in the Plain of al-Husaima to the water which three other lineages, all of a different clan from the first, traditionally receive from a given irrigation ditch (LR, pp. 115-116).

114 Very much more could be said about the good points in Blanco's overall analysis and output on Rifian social structure, for they outweigh the bad ones, and by far. He never specifically pointed to segmentation as a crucial structural principle, but one can feel that he sensed it. And although he did not recognize the fact that the principles behind the liff system of alliances often, in the Rif, cross-cut those of segmentation, his understanding of liffs per se was certainly sound enough, and was not unduly influenced by Montagne. He did tend to confuse the concept of diya or bloodwealth with the concept of haqq, the fine paid by a murderer to the councillors if he committed his murder in the market, thereby breaking the peace of the market; but although this distinction is crucial, Blanco's treatment of the whole context of facts nonetheless correctly highlights the Rifian keynote of bloodfeud at home and peace abroad. And this last is perhaps the dominant theme in Rifian society and culture.

Berberizes, among other things, words, and the umbrella[5]...; and when Koranic laws apply to him, he follows them only if they are complimentary to his own custom; but, if there is a contradiction, it is custom, and not the Shari'a, which is followed, and followed without question.[6]

5) The author's expression of his personal sympathy for the Rifians: men who are "brave, loyal, hard-working, intelligent, modest, honorable, (long-)suffering, and austere."[7]

B) Introduction to Social Structure (fragmentary):

1) As an agricultural and warlike people, the social ties of the Rifians are rudimentary[8] and become weaker as the number of individuals associated with them increase: thus, from family to tribe, from village to region, there is a decrease in consistency. Strong in "elemental" groupings like the agnatic lineage or the dharfiqth, which units its members through blood ties[9], they lose rigidity although they are still precise and detailed in the jma'th (or local community)[10], and they become looser and more difficult to recognize in the upper-level groups, the dhaqbitsh[11] and its "fractions"[12], which nevertheless constitute the true "homeland" in North Africa, and are independent units[13].

2) The Rifian social organisms (i.e. units) are constituted by the associations between family (i.e. kin) groups which live together in the same territory, and thus have a localistic stamp which permits their evaluation in this manner. However, the institutions which constitute political groups do not have this character, as they are made up of elastic and complementary forms[14] which...retain

426 686 627 623 part of the bargain, he is reminded to do so by the chief, and if he refuses, they forcibly commit a theft of animals or property, so that his jma'th will hear of it; and they thus oblige him to fulfill his promises or give rise to the intervention of his jma'th, which will force him to start negotiations.

685 627 The property of thieves is sold as indemnity, and, if they have gone or if this cannot be done, that of their kinsmen is sold, a fine is imposed, and the eyes of the recalcitrant individual are plucked out by a member of his family if he is caught[68].

623 None of the decisions of the jma'th are registered.

F) Social Organization:

1) The jma'th has generally been defined in terms of what it is not. It has been likened to the Roman forum, the Greek agora, and the Scottish clan[69]; and it has been considered the "cornerstone" or the "roof" of the "Berber house". It has been characterized as an administrative unit by some, and as a social, judicial (i.e. jural), religious or military unit by others. Some have taken the number of houses as a base point, others the fact of whether or not it contains a Friday ("cantonal") mosque. The etymology of the word--"assembly, meeting, council, junta"--has also been invoked as a basis for definition, but this, by itself, is also insufficient[70].

623 621 In my view, the jma'th is the elemental form of the association of neighboring family groups oriented toward essentially economic ends. [613] The actual number of such groups, whether two today or two hundred tomorrow, and whether occupying thirty or two hundred households, is

623 immaterial; for a jma'th which formerly contained only two dharfiqin
613 may now have three, four or five, and tomorrow even more, with a
621 proportionate increase in houses and rifles. What the jma'th is not, however, is a family group united by blood ties--it is not a dharfiqth.

623 .....The jma'th came into being because of the necessity of common
182 usufruct of elements essential to sustain life, such as water, pasture
621 lands, brushwood, etc., and because of the necessity of regulating relations, both material and spiritual, with one's neighbors (hence mosques, which come into being after such an association has been effected). The result was that when a group for any reason abandoned its original jma'th in order to establish itself elsewhere--insofar as its growth and development made it do so, it cut off relationships with its parent group and its point of origin to constitute a new and independent nucleus[71].

621 Many Rifians confuse dharfiqth with jma'th, and proof of this
623 is that when one asks the members of a given group where they are
613 from, it is the same to them to answer "From such and such a jma'th"
[829] or "From such and such a dharfiqth", because the dharfiqth in question forms part of the jma'th whence they originated. Jma'th has a geographical connotation, while dharfiqth smells of nomadism (sic)[72]. This also explains why in different places one may find jma'th-s having the same name but formed by different dharfiqin, because over the course of time other splinter-groups from other jma'th-s became associated with the initial splinter-group from the first jma'th.....

621 I am dubious about the value of the number of households as a cri-
623 terion in definition; but I think that the best single datum available
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today for finding out the volume of a social group is the list of nubath or turns to provide food for the fqih. It is more constant than an enumeration of houses or guns[73] or persons, which is more subject to variation. But it must also be remembered that there are two kinds of turns: those based on hearths, and those based on plows and animals to pull them. In some areas, one type is used, and in others, the other.....The notion, however, of the Friday mosque as a defining and anchoring characteristic of the jma'th is not bad, and as such, it may be compared to the Spanish parish (parroqu'a)--but only in the sense of members of different dharfiqin coming to prayer. This applies even if the mosque in question serves only as an individual place of prayer for a well-to-do family, and not as a common temple.[74]

The etymological definition of jma'th, "meeting, reunion, convocation" is in itself insufficient also, as it is too general.

2) Function of the Jma'th (understood again as council): Economic. It regulates services in common, i.e. use of water, pasture land, ghabth (brushwood) and communal lands, and, by extension, social relations (hospitality, benefits) and spiritual relations (funeral services). Custom which is privately initiated in the kin group now becomes public by acting as a yardstick in such relationships, and it is in the qanuns[75] of the jma'ths where the first rudiments of Rifian customary law appear. This law is both more elevated and more humane than that of the dharfiqth, which is purely one of reprisal.

In most jma'ths, industry and specialization is represented only by a master blacksmith, aside from women who make pottery by hand; on the other hand, in the "fraction" (clan or subclan) these necessities are complemented.

000 on the other hand, in the "fraction" (clan or subclan) these necessities are complemented.

621 623 423 The patrimony of the jma'th is made up exclusively of communal lands. The jma'th is thus formed not only by people but by lands. It thus has a territorial significance which the dharfiqth lacks, for it may have immovable property in another tribe[76], and acts committed by its members outside the "municipal terminus" are thus not handled by it exclusively. For this reason there is a need for another 614 621 623 social organ structured in an analogous manner, but of greater importance and more extensive jurisdiction: the "fraction" (i.e. clan or subclan.) This wider grouping, although it also has a localistic significance and a breadth wider than the village or hamlet of isolated homesteads or groups of homesteads that we have seen in the jma'th, has other more sharply defined characteristics. It alone intervenes in inter-jma'th matters, in most cases; for the custom of the jma'th itself is nothing more than inter-family (i.e. inter-lineage) custom.

3) The "fraction" (clan) is an association of neighboring jma'th-s for sociopolitical ends; it is a state in miniature, an independent republic, and the true Rifian patria because it is within the limits of this unit that the Rifian lives out his life; where he finds what he needs, and where his law is made[77].

614 443 [671] The clan has two distinctive features: its law and its market. It is my opinion that places in tribal areas which the natives regard as ancient Christian[78] market sites are nothing but former "clan" markets which are no longer in use and the memory of which has not persisted through time. In the tribes of Aith Waryaghar, Axt Tuzin,

In the tribes of Aith Waryaghar, Axt Tuzin, Thimsaman, Aith 'Ammarth, Ibuqquyen, Ktama and Sanhaja Srir, each clan has its own market[79]. Only in a small tribe or in one with more or less artificial clans is this not the case. The clan, which occupies a well determined area topographically, as a rule (a large meseta, valley, mountain fold, etc.), is a rare one which does not have or did not formerly have its own market, where the clan representatives or imqqranen came together to agree upon and proclaim their law, their rules of coexistence, which in some cases were drawn up on paper and which form the basis of my La Ley Rifeña, 2a Parte.

The clans of a tribe did not originate through accumulation of the association of jma'ths, but rather, the tribes which came to settle in the territory already contained three, four or five clans in their nomadic (sic) state, and the new lands were distributed equitably.[80] However, it is easier to follow the schematic representation of social groups from smaller to larger units, as the lineages characteristic of these are clearer and better defined. In the tribe, they are quite relaxed, and it is more difficult to see them, because the clans themselves are apt to show this by their patronymic designations, "sons of X"; but this opinion is provisional, as there are also names which are not genealogically based, as in the case of the clan names of Ibuqquyen (Izimmuren, Azghar and Thaghidhith) and in Ija'unen of Aith 'Ammarth; and the same might well be the case with the jma'ths, whose names are often geographical ones.[81]

In the clan, we have all the institutions, organisms, dependencies and economic specializations most necessary to sustain life: an amrabit or hermit saint venerated and besought for pilgrimages and miracles; a market for the provisions and supply and for the council

614 site of the clan assemblies or igrawen (sing. agrau); master masons and carpenters; a loom; grain mills and olive presses. The clan has memories of men and places which tradition perpetuates and puts, because of their symbolic virtues, above the daily fratricidal struggles, taking them beyond the poisoned and corrupted ambit of the village and the vicious atmosphere of the jma'th in order to breathe purer air (as it were), that of the multitudes, of sociability, and
614 of humanity. For this purpose it is allotted a special day and a
443 special place (i.e. market day and the market) in which a truce is
796 established, and in which the human voice acquires its noble sound and drowns out the dry crack of the rifle shot. Interestingly enough, Friday is not the day which Islam sanctifies as the day of rest[82]; the market day is in fact the day when the Rifian rests and finds peace among his fellow believers.

614 The clan is not a rudimentary institution merely involving
621 social coexistence, like the jma'th. The clan gains in spirituality
623 what it gains from an economic standpoint in territorial amplitude through the wider association of groups of interest. The clan resolves graver and more transcendent matters than the jma'th does.

614 The clan independence (read "autonomy") is determined by the
619 promulgation of the executive force of proper clan law within an
616 elastic (author's italics) geographical perimeter, and by the possibility of the clan subsisting on its own resources, this independence, this liberty, has a limit, an area of movement, a radius which is fixed, as in all these associations studied here, by the higher power of the tribe and by that of the liffs or alliance systems, as the

614 latter are an incommensurable force in which both the individual and/or
619 the group(s) to which he belongs may take refuge...Thus, if the clan
616 has a geographic character[83], its primary distinguishing features are its customary law, its qanuns and its market (as in the qanun of the Wednesday Market of Sidi Bu 'Afif, which marks the jurisdiction of this market and the men who admit the same and arrange their lives in accordance with it--see La Ley Rifeña, 2a Parte, pp. 59-68).

619 4) Tribe or Dhaqbitsh: The tribe is the highest-level form of
614 clan association (i.e. a tribe is made up by a given number of clans or maximal segments). The function of a tribe, also, has on this
619 level been transformed into that of maintaining interclan equilibrium
614 (i.e. the theory of segmental balance and opposition), which is
671 guided by the same norms as within each clan, and if it actually has
182 no overall customary law common to it as a single unit[84], it nonetheless forces...any of its delinquent members to rectify any errors, faults or mistakes he may make, but always in accordance with the law of his clan. Thus we may observe that, within the tribes, their clans
619 form two balanced and equilibrated lfuf (pl. of liff), or liffs, as
614 the tribes, on their own level, do in turn[85], and as even the dharfiqin
616 of a given jma'th do, two, three or four rungs down the ladder. It
613 would seem to be these liffs which have always served to watch over
621 and maintain the continued existence of the "fractions" and tribes,
623 while at the same time having been responsible for a fierce opposition to penetration of the area on the part of the Makhzin (both Moroccan and Spanish)...If the jma'th is the secondary school of Rifian democracy, the "fraction" is its high school and its tribe the university.

623 find in the institutions themselves is also found in their names and in those of their representatives.....Very seldom, however, could a single representative impose his own will, and the will was collec- [642] tively that of the representatives of the dharfiqin. Each repre- sentative had a compact group of men behind him to back him up in his decisions, and for this reason the Rifian governmental system was in [622] reality an oligarchic one.[94] Hence the importance of the iziddjifen, which has not diminished even in Spanish times (1935), as the present- day mqaddim, or village headman, is a decorative figure and a confidant of the tribal qa'id, if not a plaything of the iziddjifen, or indeed their servant. It is not rare for interventors (Spanish tribal admin- [648] istrators) to see, on their arrival at a jma'th a representation of this fact, with the men in file and the mqaddim at their head. So far, so good; but this external apparatus is nothing but a masquerade. [622] There is no more than an absurd[95] functionary, the mqaddim, to whom no one pays attention save for a half dozen friends, relatives and the poor, who have only collected together under threats; but it is far more difficult to find the iziddjifen, who continue to meet in their habitual place or do their best to hide in their houses only to re- appear after the representatives of the Makhzin (i.e. the interventor and his mkhaznis) have left, in order to smell out the bad news brought by the latter and to look for ways to annul it!

623 The aziddjif or amghar (pl. imgharen), the fqih, the aquwwan 621 and the amarras, or storehouse guardian, are the proper functionaries 571 or notables in a jma'th, an admirable economic organization[96], the 793 administration of which does not cost its members a single cent, for

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793 the fqih, fed by turn (nubth), receives one-fifth of the yield of the land in habus, the "rich widow"[97], and the others get what falls to them gratuitously. In the amarras or storehouse/silo guardian of
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624 the Eastern Rif[98], we see another functionary of the jma'th, who, through the asuqi (25 kilos for 4 mudd, or measurements of barley)[99], was in charge of the preparation and custody of individual silos in fixed places, called ma'ar, which came to represent, for Rifians, the collective storehouses of agadir-s (whence the place name Ajdir, existing in both the tribes of Aith Waryaghar and Igzinnayen) of the Moroccan South[100].

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[623] The iziddjifen or family heads were the real directing nucleus of the jma'th; and in the clan, the governing body was made up of the imqqranen or "big ones", who habitually met, with legislative and executive functions, in the market. The clan delegates were collectively known as the Aith-(th)arba'in, and the meeting itself, the agrau (pl. igrawn), of the tribe. The Aith(th)arba'in were unappealable. Fqih-s and men of law were mediators, collectors or executors.
646 The Aith(th)arba'in, however, made the laws, interpreted them, and obliged people to obey them, without discussion, backtalk or subterfuge. This was a true form of popular representation, the powers of which, although they did not emanate directly from the people in many cases, or through a European-style elective system, were indirectly derived from, and with the tacit consent of, their constituents..... It is a rare person who can produce a document which accredits him as a popular (author's italics) representative, either circumstantial or permanent, but, nevertheless, no one with a better title or more

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

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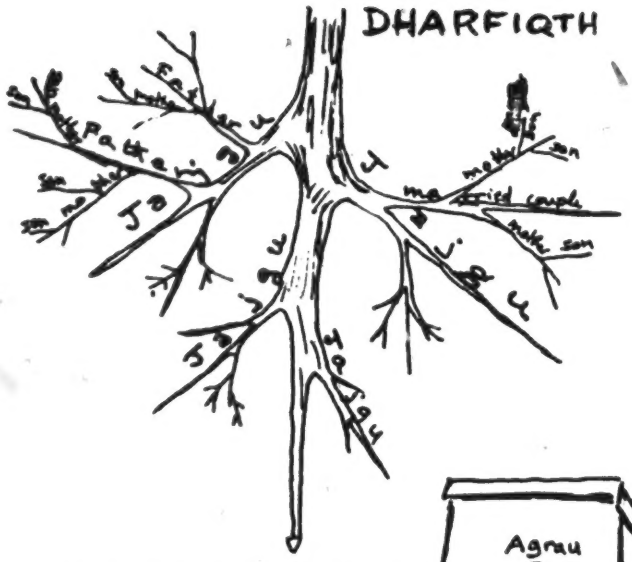

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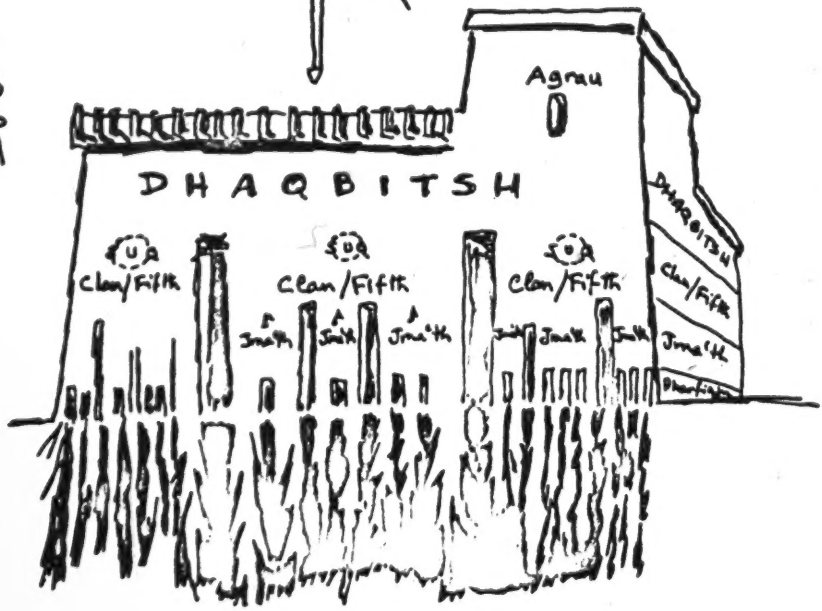

[P. 127-A]

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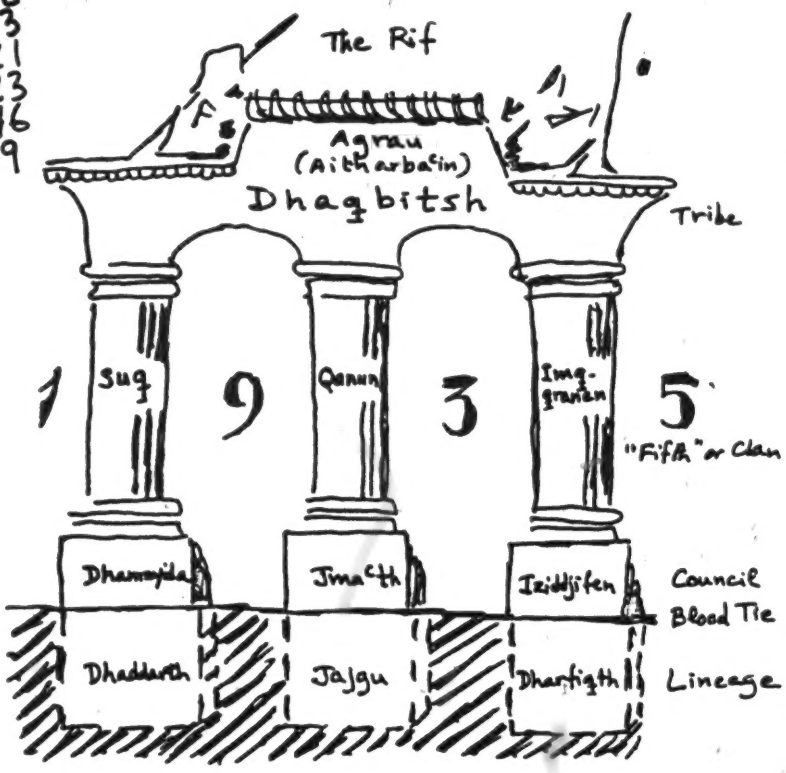

Diagram of Rifian Social Structure

[P. 127-B]

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organization, as in the settlement morphology and house distribution of their communities, we may discern the state of disintegration which the Rifian "republics" had attained, the individual rapaciousness of each one and the anarchy of its component parts.

Diagram of Rifian Social Structure[113]

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We see in this graphic representation of the principal units in Rifian social structure how these units are originated in the lineages (Sp. original, grupos familiares) whose three ascending categories of nuclear family (Sp. or hogar, R. nubth), lineage branch (jajgu) and lineage proper (dharfiqth), with genealogical relationship as their distinguishing characteristic, form the roots or base of the Rifian arch, as diagrammed here. On reaching ground level (in an upward direction), they become transformed into three other (larger) social units whose distinctive features are expressed above and the apex of which is the tribe (dhaqbitsh), which is bound together with its autonomous institutional parts by the institutional apex of the agrau, or tribal council, the maximal assembly in the region. This arch gives us an idea of the (relative) independence (autonomy?) of its columns, representing clans sustained by the nuclei of jma'ths; and all this gives us also an idea of the whole and of the harmony reigning between this whole and its different parts, of its consistency, of its solidity, and of the importance of all these factors.

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FOOTNOTE: A
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113--A few comments must first be made on Blanco's notation of this diagram. Starting below ground level, we have, from left to right, dhaddarth (Blanco's spelling taddartz), "house"; jajgu (Blanco's spelling yasgo), "lineage branch"; and dharfiqth (Blanco's spelling tarfik), "lineage"; and further to the right, the commentary "family group" (grupo familiar). At or just below ground level, slightly above, we see the commentary, to the right and above "family group", "line of blood" (linea de sangre). At ground level, from left to right, we have dhamzyida (Blanco's spelling tamesguida), "mosque"; jma'th (Blanco's spelling yemaa); and iziddjifen (Blanco's spelling islifen), "lineage headmen"; and, further to the right, the commentary "council" (consejo). Further up, each of the three columns proper is labeled, from left to right, suq (Blanco's spelling sok), "market"; qanun (Blanco's spelling kanon), "custom", and imqqranen (Blanco's spelling imkranen), "council members (of the clan)"; and further to the right is the commentary "clan" (fraction). The apex is the dhaqbitsh (Blanco's spelling taqbilt), or "tribe", with a commentary by Blanco to the right: "tribe" (tribu); above this, in brackets, is Aitharba'in "tribal council" (Blanco's spelling ait arbain); above this, agrau (Blanco's spelling agrao), "council meeting site"; and above all, is The Rif (El Rif).

I find this diagram, with its ever upward and onward orientation, very neat as a conceptual plaything...In its theoretical and abstract niceties, it appears almost more the work of a Frenchman than that of a Spaniard. Could this possibly be attributed to Montagne's undeniable influence on Blanco's thinking? However, I seriously question the diagram on the grounds of to what extent it really reflects structural realities (insofar as a structural model of any society created by an anthropologist can be said to approximate the social realities of that society) of Rifian society; and also on the grounds that territorial vs. segmentary features of Rifian social structure, and the roles that these features play within that structure, are neither defined vis-a-vis each other nor in relation to the whole. The whole structure as Blanco gives it is, in fact, too neat, too simple, and too classic (or perhaps Doric?), like the Greek (and most unRifian) arch upon which he models it.

A, [See diagram on p.127-B--Analyst]
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H) The Traditional Jma'ths of the Aith Waryaghar:

In the tribe of the Aith Waryaghar, which possesses an extremely complex social structure[114].....the traditional jma'th contains nuclei so scattered that it is not rare to see them within all three qa'idates into which, at the present day (1935) and from an administrative viewpoint, the tribe is divided. Within the [648] Arab and Makhzin, or governmental, framework into which an attempt has been made to fit the organization of the Rifian tribes, this fact presupposes an almost insuperable administrative impossibility, [643] that of making them (i.e. the traditional jma'ths) revive. The mosaic of the traditional jma'ths was one over which the chief himself (e.g. 'Abd al-Krim) stumbled, and which he put aside instead of resolving, merely superimposing his own circumstantial wartime organization over it[115].

Let us look at a few of the pieces in this mosaic.

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1) Aith Mhand u Yihya:--A jma'th (of the clan of the Aith Yusifw-'Ari) which is found to be divided into two more jma'ths: one situated in the Plain of Alhucemas, and in the vicinity of the bridge over the Ghis River, and, for this reason, belonging to the Qa'idate of l-Uta (in Rifian, r-Udha, "plain"); and the other, the original, ancestral and founding one, situated south of the Suq r-Had or Sunday Market of Thisar[116], and belonging, administratively, to the Qa'idate of the Upper Ghis.

2) Ixatshumen (mountain pronunciation) or Ikttumen (Plain of Alhucemas pronunciation, and written in Arabic as Ikiltumen):--This traditional jma'th (also of the Aith Yusifw-'Ari clan) is also

621 631 131 divided into two others of the same name, to which is added the geographical denomination of "mountain" or "plain", according to the location of each. Each one of these two divisions, like those of the Aith Mhand u Yihya, belongs to two different qa'idates: the mountain group, which is south of the women's market called Suq r-Had n-Timgharin (Sunday Women's Market")[117] at Iswiqen, to the Qa'idate of Nkur; and the plains group, in the vicinity of Imzuren, to the Qa'idate of 1-Uta. The originating group is the mountain one.

3) Isrihan:--This jma'th (again of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari), again, is divided into two others: the mountain part, in the folds of the Jbil Hamam[117a], belongs to the Qa'idate of Nkur, and the lowland part, in the Buham Plain and known as Isrihan n Buham, belongs to the Qa'idate of 1-Uta[118].

4) Bu Minqadh:--This jma'th (of the clan of the Aith 'Ari) presents a further complication, that of a three-fold division: the founding and original section, in Sidi 'Abd Allah u Yusif, near the women's market at Iswiqen, is in the Qa'idate of Nkur; while of its two offshoots, both in the Qa'idate of 1-Uta, one if near Thamasind and the other is found down in the plain near Imzuren. There is thus a Mountain Bu Minqadh, a Foothills Bu Minqadh, and a Plains Bu Minqadh.

5) Aith 'Aziz:--There are today two jma'ths (of the clan of the Imrabdhen) of this name, one in Thamasind and the other in Imzuren; and although both are located within the Qa'idate of 1-Uta, this fact is purely coincidental.

621 6) Thamasind:--There are two jma'ths of this name: one is called Thamasind n Dara (Upper Thamasind), and the other, Thamasind n

Waddai (Lower Thamasind). These two have been spatially separated for a long time, although they both happen to be located in the Qa'idate of l-Uta[119].

Aside from these examples given above, we then have those jma'ths which, after their descent to the plain, lose their original names, such, for instance, as Ajdir, and acquire those of new geographical locations or founders without, however, losing their ties with the parent jma'th until these become relaxed with the passing of time or until new needs cause them to become independent, as we find them today, if in the inversion of roles the newly formed nucleus is not imposing itself on the original one, thus becoming converted into a tributary group. We have just seen that among the Aith Waryaghar there are traditional jma'ths which are found to be split, the displaced groups often occupying sites very distant from the original ones; and the fact that this displacement occurred long, long ago led them to become independent of the originating jma'th, and to constitute new jma'ths on their own or even to graft themselves onto the neighboring jma'ths when their importance or convenience so dictated.

By the same token, also, there are jma'ths which are not of the same origin and which may form the initial fusion of perhaps as many as twenty different kin groups and stranger accretions of the most diverse origins[120]. An example of this may be found in Swani, in which the lower part of the jma'th is made up of descendants of Sidi Mhand of Aith Hishim, of the clan of Imrabdhen, who are shurfa, and of the original founders, the people of Thafrasth, of the subclan

621 of Imhaurren, of the clan of Aith 'Ari; while the upper part is made up of heterogeneous elements of different tribes. This will eventually happen in Ajdir, where a considerable number of Rifian workers are settling owing to its proximity to the town of Alhucemas. Ajdir has not succeeded in assimilating these people who, installed around and behind the fork in the (Tetuan-Melilla) main road, already form a special quarter which is beginning to be distinguished by the name of Kharras, or "stranger"[121], a disagreeable appellation for them and one which causes them to defend intuitively their jma'ths of origin. A future modification of the jurisdiction of this quarter cannot thus be considered as injurious to the constitution of the jma'th.

We thus see that the traditional jma'th in this tribe, in accordance with the data in our possession at the moment regarding this problem, may or may not have a familial origin (sic)[122], as an analogous examination of the Qa'idate of Nkur also seems to demonstrate.

621 614 If we limit ourselves, in this qa'idate, to the clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, one of those which from time immemorial seems to have kept its jma'ths most intact, we see that the only one to which a common origin or ancestor is attributed is that of Aith Ta'a. But if, [613] for example, we examine Isufiyen in this light, we find that of its five dharfiqin or patri lineages, three (I'adwiyen, Ihaqqunen and Imdihiriyen) are from the tribe of Ibdharsen (Mtalsa) in the Eastern Rif, and have the same ancestor, while of the two remaining ones, one (Aith Ta'rafth) is from the tribe of Aith Yittuft[123]. Thus, through the elimination of four out of the five kin groups in question, the only one which is left, Aith Musa w 'Amar[124], is the only possible

candidate for earliest occupancy and for the foundation of the jma'th. As it happens, this is the case here.

Passing now to the jma'th of Aith Bukhrif, we see, analogously, that while the founding or ancestral dharfiqth, Aith Wuzghar, that of the present (1935) Qa'id of Nkur, Haddu n Muh Amzzyan, is considered to be descended from the "Aith Ya'ra" or Bni Marin, the former inhabitants of the City of Nkur[125], the other dharfiqin making up the jma'th do so without any apparent relationship to each other. The kin group whose ancestor arrived first was an Imrabdhen lineage from Ibdharsen, formed by the Aith Siddiq, Aith Tumritsh and Aith Tizza; this was followed by Aith Yunis, from the clan of Asht Yunis in the tribe of Igzinnayen; and finally, by the I'addiyen from the tribe of Axt Tuzin, the most recent of all.

If we turn now to the jma'th of Tazurakhth, we see the same thing, but with an increase in complexity, for the dharfiqth which is considered to be the founding one is that of Aith Bukhudam[126]. This group later received the following additional increments: a dharfiqth named Aith Ufaran from the subclan of Aith Turirth to the south; a second, much larger dharfiqth from the jma'th of Igar Ufadhis (local pronunciation Iyar Ufadhis) in the clan of Aith Bu Idhir of the tribe of Thimsaman, named Aith r-Qman (comprising today the four dharfiqin of Aith 'Aru Hammu, Yinn[127] 'Abdsram Bu 'Azza, Yinn 'Abd Allah u Hmidh and Ibaranen[128]); a third, Aith Tizi Marda, came from the clan of Amjau in the East Rifian tribe of Aith S'aid; a fourth, Ihamdiwen, from the jma'th of Asht Tghirasth[129] in the clan of Asht Yunis in the tribe of Igzinnayen; a fifth, from Aith 'Aisa in the tribe of Aith S'aid[130];

621 a sixth, a large one named Aith 'Aisa, from the jma'th of Aith 'Ammar
623 u S'aid in the subclan of Iraqraqen in the clan of Aith Hadhifa (com-
624 prising today the two dharfiqin of Aith 'Aisa--sometimes referred to
629 as Aith 'Aisa w Anu, or "the sons of 'Aisa of the well"--and Aith
Injin); a seventh, Aith Si Hmand 'Aisa, from the clan of Aith 'Abd
Allah; and an eighth, and last, Aith Tihar, from the jma'th of Tfsast
in the subclan of Timarzga to the South.

621 The net result of all the foregoing is that even such a multiplicity of examples will not clarify the question for us, considering that, in Aith Waryaghar, there are traditional jma'ths which have been split since antiquity, and split in such a way that to bring them together again now would create a tremendous political as well as administrative difficulty[131]. This would, indeed, be next to impossible, due to the difficulties of all kinds already felt by the Rifians prior to the Spanish occupation, difficulties which brought them to the transcendental act of separation. This fact on the one hand, and, on the other, the fact that the traditional jma'th in Aith Waryaghar does not seem to present an ancestry which is common to all its constituent groups or a type of "family origin" (i.e. common ancestorship) in the form or for the ends which interest the order of the Spanish regional administration. Under these conditions, it seems the best thing in this tribe, if our knowledge should not lead us to other conclusions, to continue the sedimentation initiated some time ago, avoiding modifications which do not justify an imperious necessity or a convenience manifest to all lights, something which even the author was unable to avert, and to discount, for this reason, any.....or superficially learned innovatory zeal.[132]

621 These jma'ths, the internal lives of which were regulated by
628 the custom governing the original mountain jma'th, continued as
[688] tributaries of the latter[133], enjoying the benefits of such a status
[794] (participation in the collection of fines, contributions to the fqih)[134] until, as we have seen, the new nucleus, beginning to stand out more and more as a result of its growth, importance and distance from the parent jma'th, succeeded in emancipating itself from the latter through its own discords and ambitions.[135]

621 But it is difficult to determine at precisely what moment the new jma'th came of age, as it is to determining everything else, even including finding out the designations in nomenclature of its repre-
621 sentatives. This designation is not that of amin, as among the Kabyles
192 of Algeria, a word which, taken over from Arabic, is one which does not permit a confusion of its administrative significance, an individual function, with that of the jma'th, which has a collective mqaddim, a term also adopted from Arabic and employed by certain Berber groups in the Western Atlas, for the personage of the mqaddim also has that function as well as the inadmission of that of the shaikh, which more than one person in Aith Waryaghar attributes to himself and which
621 figures even in documents. These terms, however, do not demonstrate any more than the anarchy which the people have attained, and the forgetting of their own racial (sic!) characteristics[136]; as such words among Rifians can have no meaning nor can they be given any importance greater than those of "colonel" and "doctor" in the South
[646] American republics. These are strange nicknames (sic), for to the
[182] Rifian, as to any Berber, they say nothing if they are to be considered

621 typical terms, like that of amghar, since the institution of the
6046 Aitharba'in, formerly an authentic democratic power, seems to have
182 depreciated and is now dormant.

621 The traditional Rifian jma'th according to my way of thinking and to the results of my own investigations, is not limited to an administrative unit, but was rather the essential administrative, gubernatorial and judicial organ. The jma'th was the sovereign,
[114] such a wide concept, such an interesting collective entity and so little known to me that if I tried to define it precisely, now, at the present state of my knowledge, I would imagine the results to be erroneous.

131 Regarding the geographical regions considered in the order
631 listed above, the Aith Waryaghar are reduced to three, which correspond approximately to the three qa'idates into which the tribe is divided: the region of the plan or the Qa'idate of I-Uta; the valley of the Upper Nkur River, or Qa'idate of the Nkur; and the valley of the Upper Ghis River, or Qa'idate of the Ghis[137]. Any other administrative division which might be made would not correspond with the same precision to the topography of Aith Waryaghar, for, in its geographical synthesis, this tribe is nothing more than the Ghis-Nkur
614 watershed. If a greater fractionizing does not seem necessary from a
631 geographical viewpoint, in order to maintain the subdivision of the tribe in its six present clans, five of them of ancient lineage and the sixth, that of the Jbil, imposed by necessity[138], with a shaikh at the head of each one because of the large territorial area which it covers, larger in some cases than that of other whole tribes, it is

614 631 certainly justified from a political and even from an ethnographic standpoint. On the other hand, perhaps a greater simplification of the chain of command, brought by suppressing the khalifas of the qa'ids, a useless, retardatory and troublesome rung in the ladder, might be possible[139]; for the position of shaikh already exists, and in the absence of or in case of delegation of authority by the qa'ids.. ....the shiyukh can and do exercise the powers of the qa'id with all satisfaction, as has been observed in all cases and from all that has been told to me.

A chain of command without such useless steps would be restricted to qa'id and mqaddimin; but, nevertheless, the wide territorial extension which each of the clans of Aith Waryaghar has advises the retention of shaikhates in the manner expressed above; and the dispersion of the jma'ths advises in many cases the retention of the jwari (sing. jari)[140].

631 621 But these simplifications which are proposed in the framework of authority in the tribe must be followed up with a stronger personality in the mqaddim which would make these jobs remunerative as well as having them, at the same time, fall on the shoulders of persons of true significance in the jma'th, so that the latter must listen to them, accepting procedures put forth by them and avoiding any chances that friendship, adhersion or mere servitude to the qa'id might annul this office, the one which is, in my opinion, the most important in a Berber tribe. It is certainly not advisable to try to accomplish this in one stroke; this patient revision of mqaddimin must be done without hurry on a jma'th-by-jma'th basis, if we wish to make a perfect

augmentation to the "building" or "house" of Rifian society (of which the traditional jma'th is the "cornerstone").[141]

Aith Waryaghar, then, could be organized in the following way:

I) QA'IDATE OF L-UTA: Shaikhate of Aith Yusif w 'Ari --12 jma'ths
Shaikhate of Imrabdhen --15 jma'ths

II) QA'IDATE OF NKUR: Shaikhate of Bni Bu 'Ayyash --16 jma'ths
Shaikhate of l-Jbil --16 jma'ths

III) QA'IDATE OF UPPER GHIS: Shaikhate of Bni Hadifa --12 jma'ths
Shaikhate of Bni 'Abd Allah --16 jma'ths

Total----87 jma'ths

If this organization is applied to the other tribes[142], the patron must be remembered in salary gradation, so that salaries do not turn out to be prejudiced as the Aith Waryaghar have been, up to now, both in salary and category of their office-holders and tribal authorities.

Ajdir, August 27, 1935.

I) Notes on the Igzinnayen:

1) Etymology and Language:--The word Gzinnaya (Rifian Igzinnayen) is derived from Berber gizna, meaning "libertine"[143]. The tribesmen of Igzinnayen are bilingual, although even so, Rifian speech has a far greater predominance over Arabic. Their men of letters (fqihs, etc.), although they know how to read and write Arabic, express themselves very poorly in that language, and their grammatical construction tends to be bad. Knowledge of French is extremely slight,

619 614 361 Today it may be said that there are no ostensible and important divisions among the different clans of the Igzinnayen.... The Igzinnayen are sedentary and inhabit fixed houses, which, as among the Rifian tribes in the Spanish Zone, are located along the edges of valleys, in fertile lands, and, in a word, wherever life is easier. Nevertheless, there is, aside from the tribal hamlet-villages, no agglomeration of importance....The tribe is divided 619 614 administratively into seven clans, each one headed by a shaikh except for Asht 'Asim, which is divided into three shaikhates. One of the [621] [631] latter is made up of the communities of Buridh, Tamjund and Imharrushen, another by those of Ifran, Iaqrru'an and Iharrasen, and the third by Inhanahan, Thara Tazzugwakhth and Iharshriyen[169]; all these 619 clans ("fractions") are headed by a qa'id. The tribe of Igzinnayen presents a line of penetration between the tribes of the Rif and those of the Eastern Gharb, as it has been utilized over a long period of time as a path for incursions by the mountaineers into the plain.

619 614 621 7) Political Division:--Qaid (1940): Si Bu Tahar n Mqaddim Saihi.

a) Clan ("fraction") of Jibarna: contains villages of Asht Hammu w 'Amar, I'athmanen (1-'Atamna), Dharwa Haddum Jibarna and Suyah. Shaikh (1940): Muhammed l-Mihdi Fars.

b) Clan ("fraction") of Ishawiyen (Shawiya): contains villages of Dharwa 'Abdallah, Dharwa n Tawunza, Bu Isri, Imrabdhen n Nawizaght[170], Aknul, Nadhur, Ihammuthen and Izimmuren. Shaikh (1940): Bushta nj-Qa'id Buhush.

c) Clan ("fraction") of Marar: contains villages of Thighzrathin, Tasharbant, Dharwa 'Ari, Zarhun, Fiddan l-Kbir, Thighambuyin,

619 Thirnamin, Ifillasen, Asht r-Ahsin u Musa, Afarzaz and Tiyuririn.
614 Shaikh (1940): Muhammad Bu Thuyis.
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d) Clan ("fraction") of Asht Mhand: contains villages of Asht Bujtuh, Asht Tayyar and Asht Ziyan. Shaikh (1940): Muhammad n Ka'was.

e) Clan ("fraction") of Asht Yunis: contains villages of Azru, Asht Hazim, Thaghirasth, Ihadhriyen, r-'Arqub and Ikhabbaben.

f) Clan ("fraction") of Asht 'Aru 'Aisa: contains villages of Dwaiyar, Tighza, Jbil Sidi 'Aisa, Waunkwarth and Thinimrar. Shaikh (1940): 'Abd r-Qadar n Muhand Aqudhadh.

g) Clan ("fraction") of Asht 'Asim: one part contains villages of Ifran, Iqarru'an and Iharrasen; another, those of Buridh, Tamjund and Iharrushen; and the third, Inhanahan, Iharshriyen and Thara Tazzugwakhth. The shaikhs of each (1940): 'Abdallah n Zimbib, Muh n Mis'aud and Si Muh n Biqqish.

195 8) History:--There are no precise dates on the history of the Igzinnayen until the occupation of the tribe by the Pretender Bu Hmara. [628] It appears that prior to this time the tribe was consumed in intestinal [616] struggles between Ifuf, as all Berber and Arab tribes were. These were disputes without interest in which the fortune and existence of the protagonists and their people were at stake.

195 554 When Bu Hmara (Jilali Zarhuni) occupied the country of the Igzinnayen, he came to the qasba at Msun (in the Asht r-Udha), and afterwards he met with the subclans of the Asht Haddu and I'athmanen[171]. Useless resistance on the part of the latter was severely punished, and their two chiefs, the Hajj Hammada and the Fqih 'Abbu, brought to heel,

006 almost postulate a sequence more or less as follows: people (and particularly the most important ones, i.e. members of the council) gather in the mosque on Fridays. This, in Durkheimian terms, would make a neat example of the three-way continuum of time, space and society! The fact that the Rifian term for mosque is dhamzidha in no way negates this rather attractive hypothesis (suggested by Ernest Gellner, personal communication, Feb. 4, 1961), for dhamzidha is itself derived from another Arabic word for mosque, masjid.

11--Dhaqbitsh, pl. dhiqbar (from Arabic qabila) is the Rifian term for "tribe", the ceiling unit in the region.

613 621 619 114 614 12--"Fraction": translator's quotation marks. This term, very current in the literature on North African social structure (and deriving from Arabic nuss, "half", tulut, "third", rba', "fourth" and khums, "fifth", each one of which usually refers to the number of clans or top-level segments a given tribe contains), is one which I find both imprecise and misleading. What one should read for "fraction" is either clan or maximal, primary or top-level segment of a tribe. What is totally missing in the term "fraction" is a notion of process.

As Blanco himself thought the term "fraction" absurd (as he indicated in a pencilled comment on a report on village etymologies in the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar by another interventor, dated 1939), we shall henceforth take his cue and call it "clan"--even though he continued to employ "fraction" in the bulk of his writing!

13--The concept of the relative autonomy or independence of the tribal clan (Blanco's "fraction") is, as far as we know, an original contribution by Blanco to the overall study of Berber social structure (even though Blanco's thinking may have had its roots, on this score, in Montagne, op. cit., 1930). It is, considering the time and place it appeared, a challenging and cogent theory, and Blanco discusses it at length in the chapter on Social Organization, as well as in La Ley Rifeña, 1939. The fact that the notions of balance and opposition in all segmentary societies have become anthropological commonplaces since Evans-Pritchard's Nuer work does not vitiate Blanco's argument.

060 14--Again, in the choice of words which these notes represent, Blanco gives no definition, and we fear that, although a literal translation renders the reading awkward, a substitution of our own terms might falsify what he had in mind, namely, to attempt to establish criteria for differentiation between social and political units. In our opinion, most of these distinctions exist in the author's mind only, and do not correspond to any sociopolitical realities; for, on upper levels of segmentation at least, social units and political units invariably tend to merge.

15--It is, of course, true that only men make alliances, wage war and engage in politics (councils, etc.), but there seems no need to belabor this rather obvious point. More subtle, however, is the implicit--and possibly unintentional--distinction made between social structure and territorial organization. In the Rif, as elsewhere, the territorial organization reflects a genealogically oriented social system which has been brought down to ground level, so to speak, and

000 J) Note on the Rifian Jma'th (Noticia sobre la Yemáa)

N.B. Undated MSS., probably written 1934-1936, Catalogue No. W1/11, Sección Africa, National Library, Madrid.

"An old, confused and nostalgic tribal memory of which so many people are unaware, although they all utilize it and nobody expects it. How does it work, and how can it best be reactivated?"

Organs and Functions:

• 621 613 1) The jma'th is the association of several lineages (grupos familiares) or dharfiqin toward social ends and objectives. It constitutes the elementary unit of Rifian social structure.[1]

[671] 2) It is personified in the iziddjifen, the headmen of these lineage-groups and their authentic representatives, zealous guardians of Custom (qa'ida), which is often codified into written qanuns established during an agraw or council-meeting.

3) It is visibly manifested in the mosque, the local community and the lands which belong to it, all of which give rise to a spatial discontinuity and elastic boundaries, the origin of not a few quarrels.

4) Objectives: to regulate the coexistence of these (lineage) groups, to watch over them and to administrate their common patrimony.

5) Obligations: these were to attend to communal services and property (prayer,...education, hospitality, external relations, harka, prestations, collective responsibility and distribution of property, lands, irrigation, spoils of war, and fines), with the exception, in theory, of anything relating to personal and possessory status (marriage, inheritance).

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[594] [114] 1--The elementary social unit, in the Rif as elsewhere, is the elementary or nuclear family, and hence Blanco is here, again, in error. A more easily defensible argument might have been a consideration of the jma'th as a kind of elementary political unit.

[621] 6) Means: its own functionaries and the contributions (taxes), in money or in kind, of its members (through profits, donations and fines).

7) Functionaries: are as enumerated below, duly grouped and classified for a primary and synthetic idea:

[623] a) Native and Permanent: the iziddjifen, who comprise the legislative body and whose nearest equivalent in European society would be "councillors in their own right" (concejales por derecho propio).

[6446] b) Elective: the aitharbi'in, representatives to the outside world when occasion demands, and their auxiliaries, the aith amzyan[2], and the trustees or administrators (umana).

c) Contracted: the fqih, for religious services; the mudarris, or teacher of the community's small boys in Koranic instruction; the amarras or storehouse (strawstack) guardian in the Eastern Rif; and the amzir or blacksmith.

d) Administrative: the mqaddim ("he who goes in front"), delegate of the Makhzin and linking agent; and the jari ("neighbor"), helper of the former in outlying communities or hamlets.

e) Recompensed: although this category, like the previous one, is not a normal jma'th category (but a Makhzin-created one), the tulba, and the notaries ('adul) and the aquwwam, or expert on matters pertaining to land and irrigation, all belong to it.

8) Mechanism: The jma'th was autonomous regarding all matters internal to it, economic questions as well as all others, and was co-sovereign in external matters, for it took part (as we shall see later) in the adoption of agreements and the carrying out of those accords necessary for the upper-level collectivities (i.e. sociopolitical units), in a way to be indicated later.

2--Possibly Blanco refers here to imzzyanen, "small people", in the same equivocal sense in which Coon (op. cit., 1931, p. 96) considered the council of the Rifian local community to be made up of teen-age boys, so that they would thus be prepared for governing in adult life. In our own experience, councillors are imgharen and imqqranen, "big men", not imzzyanen or "little ones".

621 [80]

This autonomy in the questions which were imposed by the number five[3] rendered necessary an arbitration and a management of resources, and a creation of functionaries, although generally these latter were unpaid. All this created such a solidarity and such benefits, lost today, that one might wonder if it would not be advantageous, in the undeveloped and rural stage in which the Rifians still exist, to resuscitate some of these practices or revitalize those of them whose survival is an indication of the need for them, through their codification in a jma'a statute (author's italics), the transcendency of which seems to us to be basic because it is a matter of foundations and not of retouches on roofs or walls, as we are tired of observing in the copious and unoriginal legislation of both zones of this torn land that is Morocco.

This neglect of the countryside (campo), of which these matters are yet another index, would not be admissible but might be excusable in an industrialized Morocco, but never in a land which, like this one, is essentially agrarian and maritime.[4] Contrary, then, to habitual writings on Morocco, we will venture once again on the humble but complicated paths of Rifian social structure, with a view to analyzing it, and intentionally putting aside that chorus of reciters with a more or less "sharifian" genealogy[5], and proceed to an analysis of the functions of the jma'th.

3--The reference to the number five in this connection is curious: is it supposed to refer, for instance, to the concept of "five fifths"?

4--Blanco reverses the order of these two adjectives in the original text, but we only need point out that Morocco's maritime vocation makes a very poor second, if that, to its agricultural one.

5--Why Blanco should manifest this evident prejudice against the holders of holy genealogies is not clear, though possibly because he held such geneaologies to be more "Arab" than "Berber" or "Rifian".

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9) The Community Charter: The principal function of the iziddjifen, among the many that fell to them, was to establish the norms of coexistence, the laws by which they had to regulate their social relations, the qanun or the haqq, as they call it, and to which we may refer as the community charter, which comes to be its equivalent.

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This charter, whose archetypes, of a strong rudimentary beauty, I published in the year (not given: translator's note)[6], show very clearly its formative processes; and the matters which are codified are only those which it is convenient to recall periodically to the group as a whole for whatever the reason needed (neglect, modification or innovation), but not the only rules to be obeyed, for those admitted by Custom and followed in good faith, because of their applicability and convenience for the whole neighborhood, were not written down, as they were known to all and sundry. Thus, codifying them for the knowledge and satisfaction of outsiders would have been a waste of time.

The characteristics of these documents or agreements, which many people see only as simple lists of fines, can be resumed as follows: the drafting of the documents by the tulba, and the specification of the place concerned; those who attend; the reasons for the meeting and what is decided at it, i.e. transgressions, crimes and their penalties and sanctions; to whom this applies; the period of time that the agreement is to be in force; the individuals upon whom its fulfillment is incumbent; the neutral and prestigious personage who acts as mediator; and the saint or amrabit whose protection they invoke and under whose shadow they seek shelter.

6--The reference here is probably to La Ley Rifeña, 1939.

671 If aside from local community questions such as irrigation, hospitality and matters dealing with education, these community charters also deal with "crimes of blood" (delitos de sangre), one may see in them, more than the incumbency of these units (organisms), the necessity of providing for the lack of other upper-level associations which were lacking in this organized anarchy, which, in a happy phrase, may be attributed to those days when social disintegration attenuated the functioning of the upper-level units: clan (fracción) and tribe.

621 623 627 10) Security: Internally, security was guaranteed in normal times by the iziddjifen themselves, through the resolution of any incidents and the clearing up of any disputes which might arise, while in the internal political struggle of its council the popular spirit predominated. This was even more the case when within the council the 623 613 621 equilibrium between dharfiqin or agnatic lineages was broken and one lineage came to predominate, as now it was one of its representatives who, in the last analysis, came to achieve the delegation of the permanent executive function of security, under the pompous and strange designation of mqaddim or shaikh[7], who, satisfying his own personal vanity, brought about the envy of the iziddjifen, who were very jealous of their own prerogatives, who were paid in their jobs (sic)[8], and who were opposed to the notion of personal power for which the [671] struggle now began. In this respect the qanun of the jma'th of (Lower) Thamasind (Aith Waryaghar) is of interest.[9]

7--Again Blanco reveals an anti-Arab and a pro-Rifian bias, perhaps: he would obviously have preferred the designation amghar. However, and more to the point: he is also equally aware of the superfluity of such titles in a society as fiercely egalitarian as that of the Rifian tribes.

[114] 8--This was hardly the case: no tribal leaders (to say nothing of mere lineage headmen) in pre-Protectorate Morocco were ever paid in the formal sense of the word. Remuneration came through occasional "perks".

9--Cf. La Ley Rifeña, 1939, Chapter V.

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This internal equilibrium between dharfiqin was maintained, more than by the play of (within) the jma'th, by the liff alliance system which, linking tribes, clans, communities and lineages into two rival bands, created the miracle of permitting the existence of minuscule units of this type amongst others more powerful, although the clarification of this point would take us further away from our present intentions.

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Security in external relations was attained by the connection with the upper-level units, clan and tribe, and verified by means of their representatives and the contingents of armed men which on special occasions they had to send as irregular tribal troops in a harka, which defended group interests in any revolts or fratricidal struggles.

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The representatives of the jma'th in its external relations are locally known by the name of imgharen, and more commonly by the Arabized term aitharbi'in (the forty: sic), because each khums (one-fifth of the tribe) generally provided eight representatives (sic)[10]. These men of the aitharbi'in were generally accompanied by an escort of aith amzzyan (or aith umzzyan?)[11] who officiated both as advisers and as witnesses to the agraw or council meeting where questions of common interest were aired and examined.

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When these questions necessitated armed expeditions outside the unit concerned, the (manpower) quota which each jma'th had to provide

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[114] 10--This makes a neat mathematical model, but in practice it is based upon a false premise, as it has been demonstrated previously that the term aitharbi'in refers in fact to "representatives of the people" and that it has nothing whatsoever to do with the notion of "forty".

[114] 11--The concept of aith umzzyan or imzzyanen, "little ones", "minors", as participants in the Rifian political system is, again, erroneous. It is only in the present paper that Blanco introduces the concept in this fashion.

721 was imposed by the tribe or the clan: it was based on distribution
621 amongst the several dharfiqin comprising the jma'th in question, while
613 the place and date where and when they had to present themselves was communicated to them by the leader of the expedition, who also examined cases of exemption and desertion.

Thus, both in theory and in reality, all the operations of recruitment of our European municipalities were incumbent upon the jma'th; while relief and provisions, the personal and complementary obligation of the dharfiqth, were sometimes assumed by the jma'th when the earlier operations failed, as a kind of advance.

721 This natural system, alleviating the principal one of a number
182 of onerous chores which are discharged by (military) services in European bureaucracies, permitted the Rifians to give their full attention both to military operations and to politics. It bound all of them together, the front and the rearguard, in a common interest, principally economic, which in lieu of discipline was what reinforced local spirit. The economic interest (the saving of ammunition in combat and sobriety in eating--for the individual had to pay for both out of his own pocket), apart from avoiding not a little dissatisfaction and worry, afforded the harka a high degree of addiction to rapine, given the fact that its members had to live on their own account in enemy territory in order to compensate for the woebegone consignments of the wretched rearguard, justifying through its well-known raids its desire to fill its stomach, the clearest of all its bellicose undertakings. Such that, once the booty was obtained, the harka was dissolved on more than one occasion.

621 423 11) Estate: The rural estate must be considered as being formed by the funds and property which the members of the jma'th looked after and which are mentioned in Section (5) above, and those which they used in common, such as lands and fruit trees, water, brushwood, pasturage, etc., (all) comprising the patrimony of the jma'th, given the fact that all of these were administered freely by the latter, and that they originated in it and invested in it, although toward different means and ends, as we shall try to show.

794 793 a) Worship: The attentions to worship, in any tribe, presented two aspects which were cared for in different ways. One was that regarding all pertaining to the mosque as a building, dhamzyidha (construction, repairs and maintenance), and the other was that of the personage who officiated within it: the fqih. The resources on which both depended had the same origin: the intangible patrimony of the mosque formed by voluntary donations of well-to-do and pious individuals, consisting of lands and fruit trees, the working of which through leasing and the acquisition of graves in the vicinity of the mosque constituted its income. [423]

794 [429] [251] The administration of these properties was the job of a lay member of the community, who was nominated by it and to which he had to account. The storeroom for grain was the ghurfa (Rif. ghwarfth), the second story, or any other room of the dhamzyidha or mosque, the key of which was kept by the mqaddim just mentioned, while the fiqh was its guard.

427 241 621 When plowing-time arrived, the patrimony was leased at a meeting of the jma'th, and when it was time for the harvest, each

A [See p. 183--Analyst]

person took to the storeroom the share of grain which had been allotted to him.

The fqih was contracted and paid through this share of grain. The mqaddim's job was gratuitous and was reduced to the acquisition of mats, lighting, buckets, brooms, small repairs, the storing of the harvest and the payment of the fqih, with due notice given to the jma'th. For other expenses, such as additions and improvements on the building, etc., there had to be prior agreement on the part of the jma'th, i.e. acceptance of these matters by the various lineage heads.

From this simple mechanism and the character of these properties resulted their scrupulous and austere administration by lay tribesmen (author's italics), which any other procedure would have been hard put to surpass. The result was that not only were the summary needs of this sort, today unsettled, catered to, but that it was rare to find a mosque which did not possess surplus stores good for five or six years. Hence this constituted a true estate, a localistic tie which everyone voluntarily tried to improve and which today it is possible that we (i.e. the Spanish administration) have disrupted.

It has been said that our (i.e. the Spanish) occupation and action have forced the discovery and have focused upon habus (religious and/or charitable endowment) properties which were either hidden or were on the point of disappearance. In the (tribal) countryside, this is either an error or an infantilism. Not only have we (the administration) discovered nothing of the sort, but we have confused things a great deal, as anyone who reads this paper, or rather, anyone

423 interested in doing field research may see. What happened was that the
794 jma'ath, given their natural lack of confidence and their fear of our
innocent decrees, disclosed to us a part (of what had happened), re-
[621] serving for themselves exactly what was needed in order to assure themselves, in the worst cases, of the maintenance of worship and the dhamzyidha, the social and religious link.

621 With this estate, with this "bank", the poor jma'ath,
423 in their hazardous existence, were able to save themselves in hard
794 times, either in times of famine or drought, with advances of grain, or in times of violence, with advances of fines, muna-s (food) to harka-s in transit, acquisition of arms and ammunition, etc.

423 With the new centralizing system of a shocking and
794 unanimous complaint, there is no rural mosque which is looked after; the fiscalization of accounts does not have that (degree of) efficiency; and, outside of its bureaucracy, the profits may only be revealed in the ostentatious and less accommodating urban mosques, given that if the latter were nests of preachers, and loafers, and rebels, the former acted as places of asylum, banks, storehouses, councils, clubs and schools. But the worst is that such a procedure mocks the will of the donor and falsifies management of the donation, for the property which the devout and rustic tribesman turned over were destined for lay administration and for the profit of his humble dhamzyidha, and with it for his family and for the small social nucleus within which his life developed. It was not in order to cover up the leaks of the mosque, whether large or small, nor to enlighten any urban mulay, whose surplus resources, religiosity and the prodigality of whose adherents could

423 never be made use of through such modest donations, so exact was the
794 objective for which they were turned over. And today they are obliged to be substituted by new constructions, as already we are finding instances in which the tribesmen are obliged to use part of their communal property in order to cover their minimal religious needs.

The traditional tribesman, a localistic and primitive soul, could never dream that his generous gesture and the fruit of his labor would be converted into utilization for and the beautifying of the vampire city, of that city which he knows only through its derisive attitude toward him and its desire to cheat him.[12]

651 b) Self-Taxation: This category was fulfilled in the jma'th
621 through other classes of property, such as religious (properties), through voluntary contributions and through alms.

The 'ashur (Rif. dha'ashurth) or tithe from the harvests, which was received in kind by another amin (read mqaddim), also a lay (author's italics) tribesman expressly nominated by the jma'th to whom he was responsible, justifying payments and income, and guarding and administering voluntary donations.

651 The respect for and knowledge of these good customs and
648 primary institutions in the Rif has permitted us to utilize such sentiments of solidarity on diverse occasions, without excessive shifts from times of abundance to others of restriction, hence giving them the sensation of our constant solicitude and thus coming to establish in some jma'ath and 'bureaux' (oficinas) the idea of voluntary deposits (donations), and hence again (re)awakening Custom.

[648] 12--This paragraph, as well as the preceding one with its reference to the "urban mulay", clearly indicate that Blanco fully shared the prevailing view of the protectoral authorities of both zones of Morocco regarding the administrative wisdom inherent in the separation of Town and Tribe.

000 (donations), and hence again (re)awakening Custom.

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621 The 'ashur, a Koranic tax which was always collected by the Makhzin--even including "rebellious Makhzins" like that of 'Abd al-Krim--continued to be collected by the jma'th in its long periods of "anarchy", which to the jma'th concerned meant, of course, autonomy. From this stems the fact that although the tirtib today is the real Makhzin-imposed tax, the 'ashur, for the Rifian tribes, continues to retain its traditional character both of religious obligation and of application to the jma'th (author's italics), a tax which is accepted with such good grace as to leave the evaluation of how much is to be paid to the conscience of the reductions longed for by any Rifian; and this in just the same way as the tirtib is rejected and regarded as disagreeable. Hence the reform of the tirtib, or better yet, the reform of any system of tribute, might also be advisable with a view to freeing the product from any internal encumbrances.

Hence the voluntary alms (self-taxation) which Rifians call dha'ashurth (tithe), collected in kind (figs, raisins, walnuts, olive oil, barley, etc.) and turned over to the hands of the appropriately elected member of the local community, constituted the beneficial bases with which the jma'th fed its own poor and those in transit, without falling into the prodigalities, with relation to their means, of organizations set up in which there are real contests to be poor, with the result that their mean standard of living was higher than the sober mean of the jma'th, which organizations of this type should not surpass nor equal[13].

13--The allusion here has escaped us: it may possibly refer to some particular institution current in Spain in the 1930s. In any event, this is another of Blanco's tortuously meandering sentences.

c) Instruction: The maintenance of expenses relating to education fell and fall, independently of the above, on the members of the jma'th who, in turn, must provide the fqih with his meals, while his contract, as we have seen, depends, on the other hand, on religious property[14].

The gratuitous character of the representative jobs, such as the iziddjifen, and the eternal need to be prepared adequately for distinguished visitors (tribal authorities, personages of political, economic or religious significance, harka-s passing through, etc.) made it mandatory that the expenses incurred through the feeding of visitors (difa or diyafa, or, more commonly in the Rif, mma) be shared equally by the members of the jma'th or that they be levied by the iziddjifen at so much per head. To this end they also used to prepare reserves set aside from the harvest reaped in common from the jma'th lands as of that taken in from the leasing of these same lands, funds from which were also applied or set aside for the repair of irrigation ditches or for any other communal need which the jma'th agreed had to be satisfied. Even today this custom continues, and the ziyara donations to members of holy lineages, once the harvest is in, are effected in this fashion, with the crop taken in from a plot of land held for this purpose. Such a plot, in some jma'ath, is usually entrusted to a fqir (member of a religious order) of the jma'th (in question), who must convoke its members to plow and harvest it. For these individuals,

14--In our own experience, both the meals of the fqih and his annual remuneration in barley depend entirely upon the resources of the members of the jma'th concerned. No doubt, however, if his annual stipend in barley can be integrally extracted from religious land (such as habus), so much the better, and nobody is the loser.

792 794 who played such an important role as good and neutral men, healers and harborers of (individuals in) asylum in days past of fratricidal struggles (i.e. bloodfeud), this (most curious) Berber society afforded them, in exchange for their partisan withdrawal and their other-worldliness, sufficient means for a quiet and dignified existence.

423 178 794 Today, perhaps, the only responsibilities depending on the stocks such as those cited above are the well-spaced visits of such individuals or of an occasional interventor; and what is left over is used to buy an animal and celebrate a communal repast which, now as then, compensates for the Rifians' enforced vegetarianism.

423 621 794 The result is that, in reality, individual and jma'th, for all these matters of an economic character, complement each other admirably in their rudimentary (sic) administration. The individuals voluntarily turn over rugs and lamps, and put in working time in the fields and seed; while the jma'th supplies the harvest and anything else needed, and then distributes the surplus. For this reason, visits [594] with "meals" involved do not please the Rifians, and they are beginning to complain about them, no matter who the guest is.[15]

423 648 d) Communal Property: Communal lands are infinitely more complicated a matter for the protectors to classify and put in order, to say nothing of the Makhzin: for the locals oppose by any and all means any clarifications on this score. They mistrust the intentions of the former, who have not yet succeeded in inspiring the confidence necessary for collaboration of this sort. How many times after revising

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15--This is eminently believable, in the hard times which prevailed in the Rif during the 1930s and 1940s.

them, and to remove positions which might become complicated through useless centralization or confused through disadvantageous classification.

Today Rifian society lacks its own organs of expression, sheltering its ill humor from the picturesque pages of a partisan and slanderous (Spanish) press, a collector of those disaffected and rancorous individuals of poor mentality. In its turn the Makhzin becomes strengthened through a milieu which is hostile through incomprehension. It neutralizes its delegates (mqaddmin), the manner of their appointment, their mediating authority and their connection with the jma'th. Even should he like to do so, the mqaddim cannot, as in other positions, undertake to defend the Makhzin: it is possible that he does not know how, nor that it occurs to him, nor that he would even dare to do so. What, then, remains of his position? That of a local community guardian or of a poor (bad) or fearful informer, if not, indeed, tendentious for some individuals or for others. This is very little, and the progress made in the rural nuclei is nil: communal property is disappearing, and pastureland and brushwood-land are both getting further away and more reduced, while the mosques are cut into pieces, the (inter-community) paths are erased, the wells are emptied and the jma'th is becoming ruined, ceasing to act in its useful communal functions and endeavoring to become a paid or salaried parasite.

Nonetheless, even as strong as was Rifian Custom, so clear, simple and beneficial that it lasted for ages, it appears almost as if when the official and orderly crust was scratched, it (Custom) was unable to obtain the confidence of the tribes or even to fulfill

such urgent needs: it disorbitized the simple problems of fiscalization, strengthening and (re)orientation of Rifian popular institutions in order to create a cold and foreign bureaucracy and/or, at the very least, to improve the cities by putting up sumptuous buildings or repairing beautiful minarets.[17]

From a communal administrative organization and an essentially lay and effective position--like that of the ahabbas--a complicated religious problem and political weapon has been forged, i.e. the forms and modes have changed completely, to the detriment of the need which they tried to remedy. The administration has passed into the hands of the tulba; the inspection into those of the qudat (pl. of qadi); and the orders for payments into those of nothing less than a Ministry.[18]

In these dazzling reports it is easy to find science per se and the origin, finality and means of acquiring and utilizing these jma'ath properties in the different tribal areas of our (Spanish) zone in its "anarchical" (sic) existence.

I believe, then, that it is not in ways foreign to the Zone nor to those of the Arab authors of treatises where we must look for the light which will illuminate our path, but rather in what we know (empirically) through investigation of Rifian society itself, whose most durable facets are not very different from old Spanish

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17--The situation which Blanco hints at here, of local community resources in the Rif disappearing in order to add luster to urban mosque-cum-habus situations, is not one which has ever come up in our own experience.

18--Here Blanco complains again about what can only be labeled as "Creeping Arabism", after his earlier remarks about the pernicious influence of "the city" on the Rifian.

own jma'ths; they were headed by men of their own localities; and 'Abd al-Krim only reserved for himself the right to nominate individuals in his confidence for top positions[5].

The contingents of each tribe were headed by the notables of that tribe, and were instructed independently within the whole harka agglomerate. The tribal notables received news of the objectives they had to attain; they took their contingents into battle; and afterwards, they abandoned the field and brought their harkas home....

Through their representatives in the agraw, the jma'ths knew the contingent which was requested, and they made the division and nominated the chiefs[6]. There were both volunteers and conscripts; but in each house, one man had to stay at home. An amghar or the amghar was the elected warchief, and he established his contingent....He did not abandon his house or agricultural tasks or coerce anyone to fight[7], and the jma'th saw to an equitable distribution of men under arms at all times. Only shurfa, old men, boys and individuals with physical defects were exempt from harka service.

Attempts were made to respect geographical order, and each contingent was called upon to engage in combat only on its natural front. The order of battle was traditionally known, and was answerable to political necessity. Coexistence was easier for harka members on their natural fronts, of course, in their own land; resistance was more effective, displacements were more rapid and dispersion was less serious. Knowing the country perfectly, they could send groups to defend passes or watersheds or gorges in relays, each one two or three hours behind the last, so that later arrivals could increase the

616 619 648 193 616 619 182 into which a minute initial event (i.e. the cause of the war) had developed, while the echo of gunshots and the splendors of vengeance lit up the Rifian mountain landscape....The Rifian alliance is established as a precaution taken by a weak man faced by the dangers of disequilibrium within the social group of which he is a member, and it comes into play when the norms of coexistence are broken....When one studies life in the dispersed hamlets of the Rif, one sees at once how personal ambition and rival interests could, in the last analysis, break up their inhabitants and realign them into two or three rival bands[15] of more or less equal strength. When there are three such 616 619 bands[16], one of them acts as a buffer or cushion between the other two in order to maintain equilibrium and to prepare for the worst through alliance with neighboring villages or groups. This also happens with clans, and even with tribes.

[829] All of native science in the difficult art of government resides in a perfect knowledge and evaluation of these bands and of the rivalries which separate them in their own rich personal experience.... A great many tribal wars may be explained through the preference of one band, in a system of equilibrium of forces and balance of power, and through the logical reaction of the opposite band, which considered itself underestimated or slighted! The personalities and moving spirits in each band are also a factor to be considered[17].

616 621 [602] Ordinarily the people in a village group themselves into two opposed bands of equal strength. When there are three such bands or if equilibrium is for any reason upset, the foresight of the weak obliged them to ally themselves with family groups in neighboring villages, thus giving rise to the linkages[18] discussed earlier.

616 The jma'th, the clan and the tribe, in spite of swamping
614 their territory with the blood of their brothers and fellow members,
619 are invariably and unchangingly preserved, for the desire of expansion
[621] on the part of their neighbors was always held in check by a tremendous fear of the liff, whose mysterious strength was never known pre-
616 viously[25]....And here we have a strange game or interplay between these
182 two types of liff, for while the individual type, with its sanguinary
628 feuds with neighbors, tends toward the disintegration of the social units involved, the general type remains permanent and intact, tending to neutralize or localize the hatreds which the quarrels of the individual type can engender.[26]

618 As today (1935) the central power (i.e. the Spanish Protec-
692 torate or Makhzin) is strong enough to put individual and group disputes
616 up to arbitration, guaranteeing the enjoyment of his or their rights
182 to each person or group involved, the general liffs are disappearing and the individual ones are weakening; but in my opinion, if any real commotion began, liff alliances would surge up anew, even though today they exist largely in the minds of old men.[27]

616 Robert Montagne, in Les Berbères et le Makhzen (p. 216), says of all this:

> "When we study the existence of little elementary societies, we are struck both by the tyranny exercised by the group over the individual and by the impotence of the former to keep away from anarchy. The liffs materialize and project on ground level, we might say, the two opposite and complementary tendencies of Berber life: the spirit of association and the taste for discord."

My own feeling on the matter, however, is that the liff system is the complement of the other two types of unity, family and kin group

616 (social), for a man only goes to his liff when the other two types fail him. Thus we see individuals or groups, when they are helpless, calling for their liffs in defense of their rights or taking refuge with them when, conquered or routed, they abandon their own hearths.

61 621 Tribes and their clans, and jma'ths and their kin groups or dharfiqin are generally divided into two balanced, symmetrical and mutually hostile parties; and it is in such an equilibrium that we find the strength of each group, no matter how insignificant that group may appear, and the weakness of the whole tribe, which is only welded together if threatened from outside.

616 619 621 623 In essence, in the tribe of the Aith Waryaghar, the innumerable feuds between jma'ths are reduced to two parties, within each council, whose quarrel, perhaps rather than for hegemony, is a dispute of interests. But, in discussing parties, let us rid ourselves of the

642 795 notions which these have for Europeans, either in forms of government or in religion. In such simple questions, Republic[28] and Islam have been in agreement for a long time. The Rifian states were religious republics governed by laymen, we might say. Well and good: above and

616 beyond these quarrels and ferocious feuds, the Aith Waryaghar knew how to ally themselves, absolutely independently of these, to other groups, indicating that the motive forces which underlay each class of alli-

619 ance were different[29]. Thus we see, for example, how the five khmas (sing. khums) of the Aith Waryaghar were allied or opposed to each other, and how they constituted two mutually hostile bands; the Aith 'Adhiya, Aith 'Ari and Aith 'Abd Allah on one side, and the rest on the other[30]. In my opinion, these two bands represent the most obvious

brake or check upon the expanding hunger of neighbors as well as upon the hegemony of some determined individual.

But with the threat of the Rogi, Bu Hmara[31], expressed in the form of the mhalla or military expedition under the command of Jilali Mul al-Wudhu[32] (Muludu), we see the Aith Waryaghar reacting violently and uniting, for the first time in their history, as the result of an agraw at Imzuren, nominating their war chief, mounting guard on the line of resistance parallel to the Nkur River, from Imnudh (in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash) to the Mediterranean, and joyfully accepting the hard task, magnificently performed, of smashing Bu Hmara's army to bits and sending it back in headlong retreat to Qasba Silwan.

In the same way, we also see the khums of Aith 'Abd Allah, in liff with the Ibuqquyen, joining the other khmas of Aith Waryaghar to fight against that tribe, as auxiliaries in the punitive expedition of Bushta al-Baghdadi[33]; and thus we see that tribal interests were always superior to clan ones[34].

For this reason, the mechanism of the liff is simply conservative and not disintegrative, as might seem the case from other points of view. If in the jma'th it equalizes the forces which are feuding, it does the same in the tribe with the rival clans, and in the overall Rifian area with hostile tribes, everywhere balancing the inferiority of weak groups with the strength of its own men. It may be possible to explain in this fashion why in spite of the feverish, ephemeral and unlucky vicissitudes of such minuscule states, they never came to the point of disappearing altogether, while at the same time and by the same token they never permitted the duration of empires

616 619 642 114 the Rifians borrowed a European word, republik, to describe the political organization of their country before 'Abd al'Krim's time, and even though they say that they employed this word because there was no central government, no makhzin, only imgharen or councilmembers acting in a state of "organized acephaly", we must not assume, for instance, that republik to a Rifian means what republic means to an American or republique to a Frenchman. Furthermore, though the American and French definitions of the term are no doubt closer to each other than either or both of them are to the Rifian, we cannot even assume that they are the same. And one of Blanco's most persistent defects in his analysis of social structure is a constant tendency to try to put square pegs into round holes.

616 619 182 601 829 [191] 12--Blanco's comparison of a jajgu to a branch of a tree (which, in fact, it actually means) and of dharfiqth to the trunk, e.g. a branch of a lineage with the lineage itself, is a comparison that Rifians themselves very frequently make. An anthropologist beginning work in the area, is always told by his informants, if he is perplexed by the intricacies of segmentary systems, to compare a tribe with a tree: trunk, major branches, minor branches growing out of these, still smaller branches, and, finally, leaves. The notion of "family trees" is just as firmly rooted in tribal Islam as in the Western World, perhaps more so.

000 13--What Blanco refers to in this very European expression is, among other things, attendance at the noon prayer on Fridays in the mosque.

[114] [191] 14--Where Montagne committed a grave error was in his assumption that Rifian alliances work exactly the same way as the checkerboard system which he found in the Western Atlas, and of which, oddly enough, the almost hypothetical Sanhaja-Ghumara liffs in Northern Morocco also seem to have been a good example. Blanco did not fall into quite the same error, but like Montagne, he takes the Sanhaja-Ghumara liffs at their face value, and accepts them entirely.

15--In the original, bando, which is not a bad description. The liffs of a given tribe are, in fact, hostile moieties, and regarding this conceptualization of them, and the notion of balance, equilibrium and oscillation between them, see Hart, op. cit., 1958, pp. 204-6, note 44.

[114] 16--The notion that there can be more than two liffs within a clan or within a tribe may not, in fact, be beyond the realm of possibility; but the point is academic, for the end result is, no matter how one arrives at it, always two liffs. For example, clans A and B are at war, while C, D and E remain neutral. C and D, however, are hostile to each other, so that if A should ask C's aid, D will automatically join B. After this, ideally, E will split in half, one half joining A's liff and the other, B's, in order to keep the balance and symmetry complete.

17--Almost always, in the shifting liffs within clans, each liff took the name of its most powerful man; and sometimes this happened on the tribal level as well, though it was less frequent.

616 [2] 602 114 18--The concept of linkage is basic to an understanding of the functioning of Rifian liffs, as Blanco indicates. He does not, however, go

616
[62] sufficiently deeply into the problem to explain why this is so; although
[602] he does distinguish two kinds of liffs, he does not, in my estimation,
[114] make sufficiently clear why such a distinction exists. Let us look at
the matter in a slightly different way.

There are, indeed, two kinds of liffs, which Rifians themselves
[539] readily distinguish, and a Rifian proverb to this effect is as follows:
"Kahalli nimsingha jiranagh ghar barra untimsa'dhi" ("Even if we fight
among each other, we must be united against outsiders"). Thus, within
616 clans or subclans, there are "internal quarrels" (aminghi n dhikhr,
614 pl. iminghan n dhikhr), in which alliances often or sometimes even con-
619 tinuously shifted and changed over time; and within tribes, there were
"external quarrels" (iminghan n barra), involving one clan or subclan
against the next--and here alignments were almost invariably stable and
predictable. Whenever the latter had to be activated, they were the
same as they had been previously; and the feuding parties in an intra-
clan war patched up their differences in order to turn their attention
to attacking another clan. For this reason, permanence and imperman-
ence of liffs tends to depend upon what levels of segmentation are
under consideration, the latter applying more to lower levels and the
former more to higher ones.

616 Besides the question of duration, there is another mechanism at work
in the structure of liff alliances, and this has been defined by E.
Gellner as "transitiveness" (see Hart, op. cit., 1958, p. 204, note 44).
What is meant here is that if A and B are in liff, and B and C are,
then A and C are also. This is indeed true for the Rif, but within
well-circumscribed limits (the neighboring clans of immediately neigh-
boring tribes) to be discussed below--for transitiveness does not con-
tinue ad infinitum.

616 The crux of the matter, among Rifians, is neatly revealed in their
614 terminology given above, in that "external" or "outside" or "big"
619 liffs operate on an intra-tribal level, while "internal" or "inside" or
"smaller" liffs work within clans or subclans. The hall-mark of the
Rifian liff system as that every single tribe in the area (and we know
of no exceptions whatsoever) was permanently split down the middle, and
its various clans and/or subclans, as a result, were aligned either in
Faction A or Faction B; and thus the balance of power tended often but
not always to be roughly symmetrical. Not only this, but it was gener-
ally expected that immediately bordering clans of neighboring tribes
[124] would help one faction and hinder the other. Two informants, from the
Igzinnayen, in fact, visualized the whole Rif, from their own tribe
(in altitude, the highest in the Rifian-speaking universe) down to the
Mediterranean, as a veritable network of such alliances! Small wonder,
therefore, that Montagne, de la Chapelle, Justinard, Blanco and others
who have published on the subject have found it so fascinating. Because
of the internal split into two more or less equal parts in each in-
dividual tribe, and because of participation (if not in manpower, at
least with money or rifles), of adjoining segments of neighboring tribes,
the Rifian alliance system seems more complicated to me than the out-and-
out chess- or checker-board-type liffs of the Western Atlas (if Montagne
et al. are correct, as J. Berque, op. cit., 1955, pp. 424-39, has cast
doubts on the Montagnian hypothesis); and we would liken it more to the
links of a chrin--as Blanco does, though perhaps he does so unwittingly
through not having had all the facts at his disposal.

This proves what has been said
554 regarding the treatment of social organization in connection with the
671 ascendency and distinctiveness of the clans, of the suq, a true par-
614 liament, which is attended by the most outstanding men of the clan,
62 tacit or vocal delegates of the jma'ths who form an aristocracy known
623 as the Aitharbi'in, whose circumstantial attendance in some cases
619 forms the agraw, the directing assembly and organism of the tribe.
646

614 This also serves to confirm our opinion that in the Rifian
671 area it is not the tribe which legislates and executes, but the clan,
[619] through its leaders, who parley in the market. It is thus the clan
[554] and its representatives in which all powers are concentrated and only
in case of a decrease in strength do they pay heed to the rest. The
Rifian clan is thus a truly autonomous state. It makes the law and
[681] executes it. Look, for instance, at the division of the fine, how
not a single céntimo goes to the representatives of other clans, even
if they are of the same tribe.

681 Notes 11, 12 and 13, which deal with the division of the fine,
[628] prove many of these notions. The victim or his family does not benefit
from it, for from the beginning his business is individual; a member
of his family (i.e. one of his agnates) will already be designated to
671 avenge him. The law does not punish more than the violation of the
pact, indemnifying those who remain faithful to such violation and saw
628 to its fulfillment. For this reason the perpetrator and his family
[672] (agnates) are punished, while all those who intervene in the service
of justice benefit, for they or their representatives carry it out.
If they get no money, as such, for such services, nobody would be
interested, for in carrying them out, he would not be bothered to

4. QANUN OF THE JAMA'A OF IMHAWLEN[31] (AITH WARYAGHAR):

A) Qanun:

692 621 614 [693] Praise be to God. Those of the jama'a of Imhawlen appeared for judgment in front of both the undersigned notaries, and presented themselves to us: al-Hajj Shu'aib; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Misa'ud and his brother Muhammadi; Qaddur bin ask-Shaikh Muhammad bin 'Abd as-Salam and his brother Muhammad; al-Muqaddam Muhammadi bin Muhammad bin Ahmad and his brother 'Allush; 'Abdallah bin al-Hasan; Muhammad bin 'Azzuz; Hammu bin Muhammad bin 'Ali and his uncle Shu'aib bin Shu'aib; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Musa; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Ahmad bin al-Hasan; Muhammadi Amzzyan; Awlad al-Muqaddam Shu'aib bin Muhammad bin Shu'aib and their brother Hammu; Muhammadi bin al-Muqaddam and his brother 'Umar[83A], and their brother Hammu.

621 692 673 All these persons are of the jama'a of Imhawlen, and all appeared for judgment (at the present act), agreeing in behalf of what is good and advantageous to the making of the agreement, with respect to the hannash (evil doers; also snake charmers), to robberies and all acts of lowliness and ignominy (Blanco: note a).

685 687 In case any thief or smuggler should be caught in flagrante delicto, he must pay 10 mithqals in money (Blanco: note b).

695 Regarding the above, the interested parties testified. The Murabit Si Muhammad Dardushi and the Murabit Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Qadir al-'Azizi attended the present act with them. 784 Whoever changes or alters this agreement must answer to God, who shall decree his punishment. Those who commit misdeeds (on earth) shall know the change in the other life (Blanco: note c).

A, [A "83" apparently does not refer to any footnote here and therefore should be disregarded--Analyst]

695 Valid and complete testimony in virtue of which both instrumental witnesses bring testimony against them.

000 (Two illegible signatures follow.)

692 At the same time, they agreed that whoever should commit any of the wrongs (literally, "things") expressed herein, the case, together with him (the man who committed it) shall be taken to Sayyid Mhammad bin Musa[32] and Sayyid Ahmad bin 'Ali[33] (Blanco: note d).

685 Whoever enters an orchard with intent to rob shall pay 20 685 uqiyyas. If a bull should start to trample property adjacent to that 672 of its owner, the latter shall pay one peseta.

The guarantors (of the fulfillment of this agreement) are three. The Muqaddam Muhammadi bin Muhammad bin Ahmad, Hammu bin Muhammad bin 'Ali bin 'Abdallah, and Muhammad bin 'Umar bin Ahmad bin al-Hasan (Blanco: note e).

[681] Regarding the amount (of the fines imposed) with respect to orchards in cases in which they are injured by animals, this will be donated to their mosque (Blanco: note f).

If they should break a branch of a fig or other tree belonging to anyone, the owner of the animals will pay 20 (uqiyyas).

000 A signature in Arabic follows, which appears to be al-Bu Jma' bin Muhammad (signed).

B) Commentary:

671 624 The reading of this qanun clearly indicates in its first paragraph the names of those who have established it, all of them members of the jma'th of Imhauren, bordering the Island of Alhucemas, in the 624 plain of the same name. Every two or three headmen or iziddifen (sing., 613 554 aziddif, "head") are the visible representatives of the lineage groups

621 613 554 [182] which make up the said jma'th; they are at the same time the most influential and respected members of the community. Without any presidency, without rigid formalities, without oceans of ink or ridiculous voting techniques, this democracy of lineages, galled by necessity and convenience, knows how to unite the established social norms which have to regulate, in what follows, the relations between the different lineages.

671 621 181 It is thus a people's law, made by representatives of the community, surrounding the act in which it is originated with all the guarantee and formality for the satisfaction of the always suspicious mass and for the possible waylaying (in ambush) of its representatives. 792 621 692 554 For this, and as a guarantee, a greater solemnity and public knowledge, two holy men are invited to and attend the meeting; they will keep the session from degenerating into a dispute because of the prestige which they enjoy, for the conclusion of the agreement, under which they place themselves, assures their guard and divine benediction. Even the most exigent will remain satisfied, closing the 792 621 692 212 671 road to backbiting. Even more, in order to avoid forgetfulness or capricious modifications in matters of such transcendence, they draw it up in writing; it is easy to understand the genesis of the agreement and the development of the session in which it is taken. From that 527 521 571 time to this, it is public feasting, a subject for all the commentaries in the village (households, watering places for women, and mosques), such as the numerous thefts in and damages to the orchards, the harvests of which are ready and which they fear will be wasted; these are events which are repeated every year at the same time and for which they are obliged to assemble in order to keep them down.

623 Thus public
182 esteem and the ideas which such deeds provoke in others are regained;
673
687 they satisfy the mass of the people without having to resort to cru-
685 elty, for.....in a truly humane feeling, note c in the text shows that the author of the crime must have been caught in flagrante delicto.
627 Discounting possible vengeance and not very sure of having succeeded in
623 doing so, note e in the text shows the institution of a popular tri-
554 bunal formed by two neutral individuals, two men who neither take part
671 in the agreement nor are members of the jma'th, but the fact that they have prestige in it is a maximum guarantee of the workability of the qanun in question.

623 Furthermore, the jma'th as a social unit is personified not in
621 its mqaddim, in the Arab manner, but, hostile to personal power, in a triumvirate formed by three of the legislators who took part in the meeting and who remain obligated to watch over the fulfillment of the agreement. This executive organ of power is made up of laymen, and it as much as the aforementioned tribunal is the result of popular election.

671 In the few lines which this qanun has, aside from creating a
624 a code, a tribunal and a police force, all of which are, naturally,
182 gratuitous, it creates a rural exchequer, and all this with a good, natural and admirable feeling.

182
671 It restricts, through fear of fines, damages to the small social
626 unit it represents by guaranteeing the safety of property and discard-
681 ing cravings for economic expansion at the expense of member lineages.[35]
613

671 It creates lineage authorities whose jobs are gratuitous, and,
613 always suspicious, it avoids concentration of power in the hands of one
661 person, a fact which permits neither a shade of tyranny by the latter
182 nor a bastardization of his office.

000 671 182 628 681 nor a bastardization of his office. It creates guarantees for the accused, protecting him from bloodfeuds; it indemnifies the social unit, the subclan of Imhauren, from injuries caused by some of its members, so that when the fine is donated to the habus of the village mosque, through the particular conceptualization and application of these funds in the Rif, a part of the money always came back to the jma'th in kind; and the eagerness for a reward, as among participating European functionaries, who multiply the fines by increasing their investigations and denunciations in proportion to their needs, was discarded.

671 It has--and why not?--among its other defects one which is certainly a simple defect in editing, although the frequency with which 681 it is repeated makes this doubtful in several cases. The intention (author's italics) (Blanco: note f, in text) is punished, but how can 627 it be proven? According only to the prudent arbitration of the popular tribunal formed by the two aforementioned individuals. A bad business.

671 Curious and noteworthy is the palpable demonstration of this municipal letter, of this qanun of a jma'th, which is careful not to 621 623 overstep the bounds of adjacent institutions, such as those of personal 614 182 status law (inheritance, etc.) or of those handled by the immediately superior social unit, the clan, with its qanun approved and drawn up in the markets (murders and woundings, etc.), a fact which reveals the interrelationship and interdependence of the different social units, and even their institutions and how they function.

671 627 182 This qanun is limited, logically, to neighborhood questions, among which there figures in first place that of public security (espionage)[36] and secondly that of property.

623 182 own circumstantial interest, their councils and the agreements fallen back upon in them lacked that breadth and generality which would have been needed for a longer duration in any jural operation. In a short time, new, unspecified cases or prejudice among the influential men brought their usefulness to an end and necessitated their being redrafted, in which previous experience, the analysis of which was discarded in order to resolve the question of the moment, did not play a part.

671 212 For this reason written laws in the Rif are rare, of only relative value and minimal jural operation, which did not go beyond the time it took the minors (author's italics), the small ones, to forget the announcement of the majors (author's italics) by the criers in the markets to reach their hands.

671 They do not have the severity of European law which, even though drafted in moments of emotion, gathers up and encloses in itself principles of general usefulness, a usefulness which does not necessarily exist at the time of codification but which comes into play with possible and presumable variations which later times can introduce, by which, with the prolongation of their legal operation, their disclosure and exemplarity increase, resulting in the slow but sure advance of society.

5. QANUN OF THE JAMA'A OF TAMASINT (AITH WARYAGHAR):

671 695 621 623 A) Qanun:

(Blanco: paragraph a) Praise be to God.--Copy.--In front of both witnesses testifying at the present act, those of the jama'a of Tamasint as-Sifli, Lower Thamasind, appeared for judgment, including:

671 Muhammad bin Muhammad; at-Talib Sidi Shu'aib bin al-Faqir Misa'ud;
695 Misa'ud bin Muhammad; Muhammad bin Muhammad al-'Attabi; 'Ali bin
621 al-Faqir Muhammad Azifzaf; Muhammad bin Muhammad of Ait Bu Bakr;
623 Misa'ud bin Muhammad; Sa'id bin 'Azzuz; Muhammad bin Muhammad; Muhammad bin ash-Shaikh 'Ali; and Muhammad bin Muhammad bin 'Ayad Amti; and giving respect to 'Ali bin 'Azzuz bin Muhammad bin 'Azzuz, (recognizing) that he is their shaikh, and, by the same token, the shaikh of the jama'a of Tamasint.

685 (Blanco: paragraph b) At the same time, regarding the orchards
821 and gardens, they agreed that if anyone be detained (while stealing) during the night, (he shall pay a fine of) 10 mithqals, and if he should do so during the day, he shall pay 50 uqiyyas. If he should steal cereals or fruits (literally, "figs"), he shall be punished in the prescribed manner with respect to orchards. If he should steal during the day, he shall pay 50 mithqals in money. If he should die
685 during and because of committing theft, there shall in no case be any indemnity to be paid.

682 (Blanco: paragraph c) If anyone should unsheath his dagger (with intent to attack), he shall pay one duro.[38] If he should point his rifle at someone of the aforementioned jama'a, he shall pay 10 mithqals to the shaikh.

685 (Blanco: paragraph d) If (the entrance) of (his) animals, such
672 as goats, cattle, sheep and donkeys, should take place in the cereal (fields) of his neighbor, he shall pay 10 muzunas.

574 (Blanco: paragraph e) If someone should spend the night as a
689 guest in the jama'a of Tamasint, all shall go to where he is staying

671 614 It eschews pardon,
it demands proof and it shows the reality of the
social unit, the "fraction" (author's italics--the translator
would call it "clan", with translator's italics), the characteristic
and fundamental unit of Rifian social organization, in the same way that
the jma'th (author's italics) is the elementary unit, the tribe
(author's italics) the principal unit and the confederation (author's
italics) the superior unit.[49]

443 The life of all peoples demands some commercial interchange
and, by the same token, commercial relations as such; and the result
of this is that these relations must be regulated. This necessity
621 623 443 671 impels the jma'ths resident in a small area to satisfy it by estab-
lishing a common market in a fixed and determined place on a fixed and
determined day of the week, and guaranteeing access and permanence to
those who attend it by means of an agreement among its representatives,
whose written accord, respected across time, forms the law of the clan,
[182] an example of which is the qanun commented upon here. A law which, in
principle, has as its only objective the guarantee of commercial inter-
change, establishing a truce to its disastrous life, it becomes accus-
tomed little by little to social coexistence, giving consistency to
the immediately superior unit, the jma'th, the demarcation of which at
least corresponds topographically to an accident of the terrain (the
side of a mountain, the course of a river, a meseta, etc.) abridging
its pride and feeling of solidarity in seeing its market thus favored,
converting it into an oasis of peace, a localistic tie which, over-
flowing the reduced limits of the jma'th, widens its notions of
humanitarianism.

671 443 614 796 Look at how this admirable qanun shows in its first paragraph
the market as the temple where the agreement, the law of the people,

671 794 212 In these childish (sic) legislators we may observe the suspicions and fears which the poor tulba plant with their confused drafts of these qanuns, drafts which they never succeed in becoming satisfied about; for they see themselves bound to the impossibility of correcting their vague and hazy language and can only modify it with addenda which for the most part only give rise to new and further confusions. But this is not the fault of the man who grasps his rifle, but rather of him who wields the pen.

We see in this clan qanun how it refuses to concern itself with matters that fall within the exclusive competence of the jma'th, which has its own independent life[50], as the final step of Berber anarchy (sic). Thus, for example, it says nothing about irrigation, orchards or fields, hospitality, education, grazing lands, collecting and gathering, etc., and neither does it enter into private rights, personal and successoral law. It limits itself, rather, to regulating the coexistence of its component jma'ths, lineages and individuals in the only places where they come together (i.e. markets).

671 183 It is also to be seen that the social or public law which this qanun represents is inspired by norms which are more elevated through the non-admission of compensation, such as blood-spilling, in cases of common prestige (murder in the market) without, at the same time, ceasing to be inspired by norms more humanitarian than the private rights admitted by vengeance and reprisal, to which the codes of social units like this one are opposed,.....

671 614 613 182 So that, while the qanuns of clans tend toward the clans' preservation, they develop solidarity, and neutralize the rivalries of

component lineage groups, for the practices of such groups tend to disintegrate them through the violent opposition of the individual interests of their members. The clan officiates as a soothing influence on the disorderly appetites of the lineages, patrilineally and patrilaterally united by the strong tie of blood.[51]

7. QANUN OF THE AITH 'ADHIYA[52] (AITH WARYAGHAR)

A) Qanun:

Copy.--Praise be to God. In the presence of both the undersigned notaries, all those of Bani 'Adhiya (properly, Bani 'Aziya) made testimony, both adults and minors (author's italics) who constitute the jama'as of the Ait Tazurakht, Ait ar-Rabda, Ait Kharbush, Ait Mnudh, Ait Ajdir, Ait (illegible)[53], Ait Ighmiren and Ait Fars, that they, when they went together to the tomb of the saint Sidi al-Hajj 'Umar, in ar-Rabda, sacrificed two bulls as an offering to him[54], (on the occasion of which) an act of reconciliation took place between them, with respect to murder, theft, pillage and other acts of this kind. In case any of them should kill another, then all the above-mentioned villages of the Bani 'Adhiya shall unite against him and burn his estate and that of his brothers (i.e. agnates); they shall drag them from their houses and exact from them a fine of 1000 duros. This (shall be the case) if he should have killed outside the market[55] or without witnesses (literally, "without a meeting"). In case he should kill someone in the market or in front of witnesses, then the procedure shall be as stated above, all uniting against him, burning his estate and that of his brothers (i.e. agnates), and taking from them, as a punishment against him, a fine of 2000 duros.[56]

amicably by irrigation specialists (aquwwam, pl. iquwwamen). In the latter instance, these specialists estimated the amount of damage done, and the individual who caused it had to pay for it.[120] The only penalty, most of the time, was indemnity of such damage, through, above all, small reparation projects. In case a man was also punished by fining, the fines were converted into improvements in the irrigation ditches. The irrigators did not make up special communities with their own jurisdiction or functionaries dedicated to the inspection and fulfillment of the agreements, because this rudimentary society was not fond of bureaucrats(!).....

The difficulty with these irrigation agreements rested primarily, more than on the distribution of the flow of water, on rather the outline of the ditch, for which it was necessary to acquire previously the consent of each one of the property owners on whose plots of land it ran over; these individuals did not ordinarily give in unless they themselves were given an irrigation turn; and, in addition, they made it clear that the ditch was not to cross their land but to follow the boundaries around it.

Irrigation turns, in the instances dealt with here, are simple, and correspond to the same notion which will later be discussed for the bigger water-courses, and which is based upon the principle of equitable distribution, with the utilization of natural means to calculate the time. This is reduced, once the number of turns is known, to fixing the duration of these and the order in which they occur. This customarily takes place at the point of origin of the ditch or dam; once assembled, the irrigators draw lots, by which each one of them puts down a straw while another, with his back turned,

312 571 613 [402] lead the water to which he has a right in any of the main ditches into these three smaller ones. The ditch of Tuth, when it has water, moves the mill of Dharwa nd-Hajj Mis'aud. The irrigators of the Tafadhna ditch, whether the turn is interrupted or not, have the right to use that of Shimurra, but giving first choice to those who use it regularly.

16. QANUN OF THE NKUR RIVER (AITH WARYAGHAR):

312 675 The Nkur River has an irrigation regimen which is less exact than that of the Ghis, and the written agreements on the distribution of its waters are few and recent. One of them refers to the division of waters between the Axt Tuzin and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, with the intervention of the Bureau of the Aith Waryaghar (in Ajdir).[146] In any case, the establishment of such agreements is based upon the same notions and the same norms as in those pertaining to the Ghis.

312 (621) In the Middle and Upper Nkur, there is more than enough water to irrigate the meanders which the river has created, through which it is easy to affix by-laws to the 'azibs[147] of the neighboring jma'ths which own land on its banks, given the small amount of land under irrigation. (241) There is even freedom and waste, and it is not uncommon to see, during harvest time, the formation of tiny threshing floors with capricious irrigation-furrows of 300 and 500 meters in the middle of the river bed.

[619] There are meanders like Dhaghzwith n Dasa (upstream, in the territory of Axt Tuzin, and near the bridge on the right bank) and Dhazur-akhth (downstream, in the territory of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and also right beside the same bridge, but on the left bank), which are of relatively large dimension and which have already stabilized turns; but the real difficulties and concomitant near-perfect solutions are

A, [See pp. 361-369--Analyst]

224 All areas, except for the cultivated environs of houses, saints' tombs and cemeteries, could be used for hunting; those most preferred were low hillsides, stubble-fields and threshing-floors. [621] Each jma'th, in reality, came to have its hunting boundaries or habitual hunting areas, with preferential rights. Regarding times for hunting, they had no established limitations or prohibitions. [825] [821] Because of the facility of discovering animals or birds by their tracks, Rifians prefer to hunt when the sun is strongest.....

C) Organization:

224 554 671 [443] The hunt is organized one or two days beforehand, in the suq (as this is the meeting-place of distinct villages....); and here are determined the date, place, dispositive direction and leader (mulu')[183] or major beater, an individual who is always versed in the customary law of hunting.

224 Among points decided upon here is whether the hunting is to be in company (Mor. Ar. shirka, Rifian shirxth or sharxth) or not, which means ultimately if the game collected is for the person who [578] killed it or not. Ordinarily it is agreed to be in company. This tends to avoid multiple incidents and disputes, and it is only necessary to determine whether the hunters divide up the catch or gather in someone's house to eat it. They almost always agree on the division of the catch before coming back to the village. If there is much game, the division is in terms of the number of animals or birds taken; if not, the animals or birds are cut up and the pieces distributed (r-uzi'ath) among the hunters.

000 with the lineages of the Aith 'Aru Hmid, Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid and Aith Muhand u Hmid irrigating; Aith Bu Dhimmus (24 hours) with the Dharwa n Muhammadi 'Allush irrigating; and Yinn Si 'Amar Umrabit (24 hours).

[114] 144--Blanco gives the "9 hours 20 minutes" figure (the difference between 12 hours and 2 hours 40 minutes) as "h. 60", which seems to make no sense whatsoever, and may be simply a typographical error.

[103] 145--Our notes record this as one ditch, called Sidd Tuth r-Hammam ("mulberry in the heat"?), a lower extension, in fact, of Sidd Dharga nd-Bzimma. It has a two-day turn, distributed as follows: U Kammuni, U r-Qadhi, U 'Amar u Bukar, U Muhand and Zawith. As in the 1-Bzimma ditch, these names are purely names of turns, and not names of actual lineages located in the area around the ditch. However, at least three of the turn names recall present lineage segments of the clan of the Imrabdhen: U Kammuni and U r-Qadhi recall the Aith Kammun and Aith r-Qadhi in the Upper Imrabdhen, and U 'Amar u Bukar recalls the Aith 'Amar u Bukar in the Lower Imrabdhen. Given this fact, it is also possible, therefore, that Zawith in this context might refer either to the Zawith n Sidi Yusif in the Lower Imrabdhen or to the Zawith n Sidi 'Aisa or Zawith n Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar in the Upper Imrabdhen. The turn name U Muhand is too generalized to provide any lead.

146--Blanco unfortunately does not provide us with a translation of this document.

147--'Azib, in an Arabic dictionary, is generally given the meaning of "estate", but it is one of many words in Arabic which mean different things to different groups of people. In the Central Atlas, it refers to a shepherd's shelter in a summer pasturage area; and in the Rif it refers to a second house built by an individual who already owns one, preferably a second house in which he spends a certain season of the year, such as summer. Such an individual is called a'azzab, pl. i'azzaben, and there are very few of them in the Central Rif, where transhumance, in any form, is non-existent.

148--The tribes in question which are bounded by the Lower Nkur are the Aith Waryaghar on the west bank and the Thimsaman on the east; but it should also be remembered that the Middle and even a part of the Upper Nkur divides the Aith Waryaghar (west) from the Axt Tuzin (east).

[121] [613] [614] 149--The latter is a lineage-community of the Aith r-'Abbas subclan of the Aith 'Ari, while the former (Imzuren) is a thoroughly mixed local community, with elements of the Aith 'Ari, Aith Yusif w 'Ari Imrabdhen and even the Aith Bu 'Ayyash clans all included.

[113] 150--Our notes on Dharga n Dahar state that it has nine turns: five for the Aith Bu 'Ayyash (by which, naturally, is meant only those lineage segments of this clan localized around the area of the ditch), and the remaining four as follows: Abyadh (the Aith Mhand u Yihya of the Isrihan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari), Thasrand Imziren (half for the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and half for the Aith Musa w 'Amar), Ihaddushen (a branch of the Aith Musa w 'Amar) and Imzuren. In each one of these turns, there are 7 or 8 nubath. From Thasrand Imziren to the Nkur, the Aith Bu 'Ayyash irrigate; and from Ihaddushen to Imzuren, the Aith 'Ari do so.

591 Neolocality is
198 the preferred residence pattern today and matrilocality is permitted.

613 The rights and duties of these descent groups are rather
596 more fluid than is generally reported for African societies. As
602 I shall discuss in Chapter 5, the principle of patrimony does not
571 rule out other types of kinship alignment nor are kin ties the only form of relationship. Each community is made up of both kinsmen and non-kin with relations based on economic association, friendship or communal obligations.

198 In the Rif today the jural authority of the upper levels of segmentation[1] has been superseded by bureaucratic organization. [613] However, in the lower rungs such as the dharfiqth and ijuiga [596] traditional social obligations are still extant.

[602] The final social unit in the Rif is the local community
621 or dchar, a neighborhood association both both kinsmen and non-kin (called douar in other Berber areas). The size of such a community varies considerably. If we take the tribe of Ibuqquyen
621 we find that it is divided into three fractions. In a survey I
619 took in 1966, the fraction of Tagidit had 14 dchars, the largest
162 having a population of 707 persons living in 114 different homesteads, while the smallest consisted of 94 persons living in 47 households. In the fraction of Axgar, the largest was 607 people living in 107 homes and the smallest was 163 people in 34 homes. In Izmourin, the most populous of the three fractions, the largest dchar had 1,509 people living in 268 homes and the smallest had 228 living in 35 homes.

[1] [i.e., the ar-rba or tribal levels--Analyst]

621 623 Each dchar has its own jemas to which all adult men are theoretically eligible. Its political powers are rather negligible at present and jemas meetings are held infrequently. The jemas meets to make decisions on the allotment of the community for the upkeep of the local mosque or to take up a local subscription to buy an animal for ceremonial purposes or to voice community feeling towards proposed projects of the provincial government. Each dchar is administered by a moqaddem who is appointed by the national government. While the appointment is made by the government it is always of a local notable, prominent and acceptable at the local level. The moqaddem may and usually does have administrative responsibility over more than one dchar. Taking again the Ibuqquyen as our example we find that four moqaddems of the fraction of Izmourin are responsible for 9 dchars, that the three of Axgar are in charge of 13 dchars, and the two of Tagidit for 14 dchars.

621 622 657 622 631 619

623 [554] Although theoretically every adult male is supposed to have a voice in the local council, in practice the younger men or the poor do not play a very active role and decisions are for the most part guided by the local notables. In traditional days, before pacification, these councils had a great deal of political power and were active in adjudicating quarrels, property settlements, and so on. Since these functions have now been assumed by officials of the Moroccan government, the council's power has been considerably reduced although its decisions still carry a moral authority of some substance.

623 178 [657]

621 The dchar then is a neighborhood association which is made up of all the adult permanent residents. Its functions which formerly held considerable political importance have now been reduced to an association of mutual support and assistance. It is important economically in such activities as maintenance of the local mosque and collecting sufficient funds to support local ceremonies. This latter function shall be taken up in greater detail in Chapter 5.

553 cones of sugar, and a few kilos of tea. For a man, especially
574 father's brother and mother's brother, not to attend this cere-
602 mony and offer gifts is regarded as a public repudiation of the
431 family. On the other hand, the gift maintains the giver's right
[578] to aid and mutual support by placing these obligations on the recipient.

553 At approximately ten o'clock on the morning of this day
782 the mother brings the child out onto the patio and the father sacrifices a ram. As he kills the beast he whispers into its ear three times, "Your name is...," calling it the same name as that of the newborn child. Only by propitiating the gods in such a manner can the child be properly baptized.

553 On the evening of this day, an open invitation is extended
574 to everyone in the dchar. However, since anyone who comes is
621 expected to bring gifts of barley, bread, and money, the actual number of guests will include only a restricted group. Everyone who attended the wedding ceremony of the parents is expected to be present. The celebration for a child of a rich man is the
553 best attended, since he is expected to provide large amounts of
556 food and often hires professional musicians and dancing boys.
574 Such festivities are the chief and most appreciated form of public entertainment to the Riffian. A more important factor, how-
[571] ever, is that the wealthier a man is, the more social contacts and obligations he has formed. Of course, rivals for superiority often do not attend the ceremony, using such occasions to emphasize their independence and competitiveness. The naming ceremony
553

584 are not available, the father's brother. The negotiations may have begun at the request of a young man who has already selected a girl, but more likely they have been initiated by the parents without the knowledge of the children involved. The more isolated [178] and traditional the dchar, the more prevalent is the exclusion of [621] the children themselves. This, as well as the subsequent description and analysis, applies only to initial marriages. Men with [595] multiple wives generally arrange all subsequent matrimonies. The [369] urban context in the city of Alhucemas is different in that the majority of young men are cash earners capable of arranging their own marriage. Needless to say, no matter what the context, the [593] man attempts to have parental approval. An open break with one's family carries with it a high burden of social shame and inconvenience.

The opening of negotiations is very delicate. Men attempt 584 581 to marry their offspring in the most advantageous manner, either to families who are superior to their own or to equals. The strategy of choice is better understood when we recall the historical context of the Rif. As noted in Chapter 1, Rif society [571] was acephalous with a tendency toward anarchy. In such a situ- [602] ation each family sought security through a system of alliances based in part on kin ties. Although today internal security is [178] guaranteed by the national government, there is still a heavy [571] overlay of the ideology of alliance in influencing marriage, based on social and economic conditions. The shorfa or des- 565 582 792 cendents of the Prophet are still supposed to marry only into

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

611 Descent is patrilineal, and the number of paternal relatives a Moroccan can remember is always greater than the number on the mother's side.*

565 184 The important details of social stratification show little variation within the northern zone. Real or alleged descendants of the Prophet constitute the highest class. Among tribesmen, the most respected and important class is composed of gentlemen farmers. At the bottom of the scale are blacksmiths, market weighers and criers, musicians and dancers, and tinkers or other itinerant artisans. The Jews, regardless of their profession, are lowest in the scale.

621 184 Besides these aspects of religion and social organization, there are many features of settlement and livelihood that show little variation within the northern zone. The basic unit of settlement is the hamlet or farmstead. Settlements of more than a few hundred inhabitants are rare. For every farmer who grows cash crops there are at least a hundred others who are concerned only with their own or community needs. In all Morocco, subsistence farming and barter govern rural economy, and trading takes place at weekly markets held in the open air.

241 433 [437] [443] One of the clearest expressions of cultural diversity is the division of northern Morocco into zones of Arabic and Berber speech, a division which coincides with other cultural frontiers. Generally speaking, the eastern half of the area (Rif, Garet, Gal'aya) retains Berber speech, whereas the western half (Jbala, Ghmara) has been Arabized. The historical and cultural factors that have brought about this division will be considered in chapter iii.

175 631 648 A state, by minimum definition, is an extent of inhabited territory presided over by a government capable of asserting its authority. During most of its history, Morocco was hardly a state in this sense of the word. One of the important themes of Moroccan history is the division of the country into lands of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) and lands of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*). The belligerence of the free tribes was based not only on their hatred of taxes† and authoritarian order but also on their inability to conceive of any social or political unit larger than the tribe or confederation of tribes. Most of the Rif was part of the land of dissidence.‡ Jbala and Ghmara formed an intermediate zone, neither submissive nor openly rebellious in the face of domination from without. The plains of Wad Lukkus and the Gharb were easier to subdue.

619 628 [648] [571] [616] [712] Dissidence was expressed in intertribal and intratribal conflict as well as in opposition to the central government. In most of the Rif, and especially in Aith Wariyaghar, quarrels over ownership of land, water rights, and personal affronts led to blood feuds of extraordinary savagery. Some feuds did not end until one of the participating families was exterminated. Feuding and the necessity for defense gave rise to a complex system of alliances based in part upon moieties. In the days before the Spanish occupation, each house in Aith Wariyaghar had

* In popular writings Berber society is sometimes described as being influenced by matriarchy. This assumption is based upon the fact that Berber women are much more active and unabashed than the Arabized women of the towns; it is based also upon the tradition that the Garmantians were led by a queen or prophetess. E.-F. Gautier, "The Monument of Tin Hanan in the Ahaggar," *Geog. Rev.*, 24 (1934), 439–443. [113]

† *Makhzen* comes from the verb *khazana*, "to lock up" or "to hoard." The word is synonymous with "government" and more especially with the treasury department. E. Michaux-Bellaire, "Makhzen," *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1913–1938). [113]

‡ Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 380–381. [113]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

urban institutions are imposed by alien authorities. Such cities become parasites, drawing support from the rural countryside but offering little in exchange. The peasant population continues to look to its local markets for satisfaction of basic needs.

Hamlets versus Scattered Houses

Since they are walled, Moroccan cities begin and end abruptly. Pass through a gate and you are in the rural countryside. The type of landscape varies notably between the eastern and western parts of this zone. The basic distinction is between clustered settlements in the western areas and widely scattered houses in the Rif (fig. 15).

Clusters of ten to fifty houses make up the basic settlement pattern in Jbala, Ghmara, Sanhaja as-Srair, and along the Atlantic littoral. In these areas the

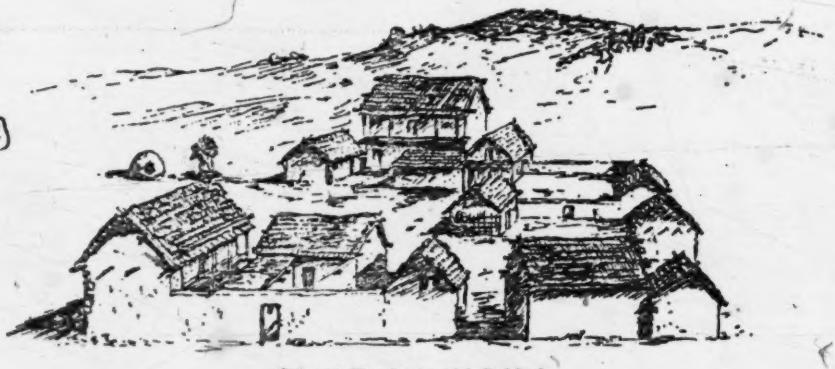

Fig. 16. Hamlet in Aith Seddath.

presence of an isolated house indicates that its owner has more than one place of residence; his first and most frequented home is generally with a cluster of several others. Isolated houses are usually of recent construction, and probably reflect the increased security introduced by the Spanish occupation. When it was no longer necessary to live close to trusted kinsmen, the more independent tribesmen settled on good land away from the ancestral hamlet.

The inhabitants of a hamlet are members of an extended family, formed of parents or grandparents, and the children of their sons. This unit does not break up unless the sons quarrel or the kin group becomes too large to be supported by the available land. Thus the basic unit of kinship, the biological family, is also the basic unit of settlement. Moroccans are averse to dividing up their land. When brothers inherit their father's land, they usually farm it jointly, and the eldest brother administers the property for all.

The growth of a hamlet follows the growth of a family. A newly married couple builds a new house, as close as possible to the husband's hamlet. Their first unit is a single hut, with a sunken area for domestic animals. As the livestock multiplies, another hut is erected to serve as a barn. When the sons of the pioneer couple marry, other huts are built adjoining the parent's home. The basic unit is extended into an L- or U- shape, and similar units are added by the grandchildren (fig. 16).

1: Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East

Ref map

[Village of Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin]

[278] soon died. Someone had poisoned him, not out of malice but as part
813 of a scientific experiment—to test a new batch of poison before using it on the intended human victim. This feeling for science is strong among the Riffians. Once in a local feud a warrior shot a hydrocephalic opponent, not because he was a dangerous foe but in order to see what was inside his head. At great risk of life the warrior crawled over an exposed bank to retrieve the body. With his kinsmen he carried it to the mosque, where the schoolmaster trephined the grotesque skull. Draining out some of the liquid, he tasted it with his finger. "It is a little salty," he said. Then they all went back to their fighting.

133 The village where this took place was hardly a village at all, since it
361 consisted of only thirteen houses in 1926. These were scattered along
621 both sides of the small but tumultuous mountain stream called the Water of Iherrushen, just above where it joined a larger river, the Bayu, which flowed swiftly out of a perpendicular-walled canyon. As one sees this country from above, the flattest ground is near the crest of the divide; consequently the villages are more frequent here than where it is steeper lower down. The upstream people also get the first use of the water, vital for irrigation.

346 If we look closely we will see that one of the houses is a mosque.
368 It has no minaret, but a white flag flying from the roof peak pro-
173 claims its holy purpose, which the whitewash on the porch and
621 around the outer rims of the windows confirms. Legend has it that the ancestor of the inhabitants of this village, one 'Abd el-Mumin (in Arabic al-Mu'min, from whom they and the village derive their name, Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin) walked up the waters of the Iherrushen one afternoon just as the sun was setting over the divide to the west, his wife and his cow and his dog wading with him. Silhouetted against the sunlight he saw this mosque, newly built and empty, its door open, standing before him. Faced with this miracle he scuffed off the grass sandals with which he had been protecting his feet from the sharp stones, and entered the holy place to pray. He and his sons hewed and walled terraces along the valley, felled some trees and planted others, and all lived peacefully until the valley was full and men fell to quarreling over fruit trees, women, and water.

621 The twelve houses which we saw held ten men with their thirteen
595 wives, nineteen sons, and fifteen daughters. That three men had two wives at once is no wonder, since six out of nine ~~of their fathers~~

had died by the rifle, and many of their brothers as well. Some provision must be made for young widows and their helpless children. To the human population of fifty-seven was added an animal roster of one hundred and twenty-five head: 10 cows, 1 calf, 15 sheep, 80 goats, 1 donkey, 2 mules, and 16 dogs. Six of the men owned the goats, and one the sheep; three men had none. Each man, however, owned a cow, for all needed milk.

There were a total of 923 food-bearing trees—more than 16 to a person, or 92 to a family. These were divided as follows: almonds, 525; figs, 272; olives, 71; pomegranates, 33; apricots, 16; oranges, lemons, and walnuts, 2 of each. Every man owned at least 4 almond, 15 fig, and 3 olive trees. Dried almonds and figs are absolutely necessary to sustain life in late winter once the grain has been eaten, while olive oil is the essential fat. The other kinds of trees produce useful fruits, but the Riffians can get along without them.

In these high valleys arboriculture is the main business of the people, and they prune, water, graft, and fertilize their trees with extreme care. Compared to this activity the Riffian spends but little time in his fields; he owns enough tillage for only about four weeks' plowing time a year, with a range of from twenty to forty-five days among the ten men. Those who have little are hired to work for those who have more, on the ancient system of granting a fifth to the plowman. Work on the vegetable gardens rates a fourth, while he who cares for another man's trees receives a third of the fruit, aside from windfalls which are for women, children, and the poor.

Unfruitful trees have long ago been felled to make way for the silver-leaved olives and the lofty walnuts. Up high on the ridges to either side one can still cut cedar and even a few pine. Below the man-made tree line is a zone of brushy goat pasture, and below this, but still steep, the vineyards. Here the families gather in September to pick the grapes, which they dry into raisins to be eaten with the figs and almonds. Up the valley a way there are two public installations, a small turbine water mill of familiar appearance, which belongs to the grandsons of its builder, and an olive press, which serves several villages. This olive press is actually near the center of another village, inhabited by holy people who never fight. Their holiest member regulates the protocol of olive pressing, aside from serving as imām to lead the Friday prayer, in which the grown men of all the villages of that part of the valley participate.

1: Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East
Rif mx3

173 the valley for prayer, he shot their schoolmaster and two others be-
628 fore his rifle jammed, and he wept.

Now the Tadmutis laid a shame compulsion on Bukkeish's men at the foot of the valley by slaughtering an ox on their mosque door, and more blood was shed, until finally the councilors convened from hill and valley, to sit like birds of prey at the scene of slaughter. Many angry words were said; finally a decision was made. The Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin had committed sacrilege by killing men, however much they deserved to die, on the holy feast day which the Prophet had designated as the end of the pilgrimage. For sacrilege there was only one punishment, exile. Leading a few thin cows the women of the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin and the few men who remained alive climbed the path out of the valley, with the smoke of their houses rising behind them. One day they returned, but that is another story. In the meantime they lived in a village outside of Fez with other exiled Riffians, caring for the olive trees of rich Arabs and dreaming of revenge. Not all returned, and their children and grandchildren may be seen, blue eyed and yellow turbaned, near the Bab Gīsa in Fez.

621 This true story illustrates the Riffian system of government. The
614 unit of society above the family is not the village, but the clan, which
212 owing to the linear nature of the arable land, spread along narrow
191 watercourses, may be housed in several separate clusters of houses. Each clan has its own schoolmaster, who is also registrar of deeds, since he is always literate. Many of the other men are also. While their spoken language is Berber, they write in Arabic, usually more classical than the daily speech of the Moroccan Arabs, which but few of them can understand. Each village also has a blacksmith, a Negroid whose home is in Targuist, the arsenal tribe of 'Abd el-Krīm.

621 In each cluster one village stands out as the seat of a Friday
778 mosque, usually maintained by a holy descendant of even holier
792 saints, whose tombs adorn the landscape and serve as minor places of pilgrimage, especially by women. Up in the tribes of Beni Amart and Targuist several mutually related families of murabiṭīn, the Ikhemrijen, dwell in green-roofed edifices built by Spanish renegades.

623 The village needs no council because all the men are kin, and
867 there are no wards or ṣofs to split them. Rarely do the men number more than two or three dozen. The schoolboys, sitting in the mosque, play at government, with a mock Asht Arba'in of their own. On

/238 cont./

121 631 XI. The Riffian anarchy. -- We have spoken of the state of political dissolution in which the tribes of the western Rif live, in particular the ones whose territory borders the sea between the Ouringa wadi and the Ighzer Moqorn, to the point that the tribal fractions themselves appear to be no more than a dust of rival and hostile families; thus one will not expect to find in the mountains that border the Mediterranean an organization comparable to that of the South of Morocco. In this region, where 121 361 621 632 [619] the houses are scattered, established on the summit of each hill, and form as many separate little fortresses, the customary units, such as the hamlet, the "mouda^{c}," even the khoms, have limits difficult to discern. The "mouda^{c}" is still extant, thanks to the existence of a Friday mosque common to a large number of households, and in trying to establish the list of the households that co-operate in the maintenance of the taleb, one succeeds in finding again in the general tangle of families this small elementary group that exists in the most anarchical regions. At times, when the houses approach one another in order to form a sort of village spread out over a /239/ hilltop of two or three kilometers, amidst gardens and Barbary fig trees, the social bond 621 613 grows a little tighter again. The familial group to which we have given the name of "ikhs" in the Sous is designated here by "tarfiq" (1);

1. Perhaps from the Arabic "refaqa," group of persons, unless it is a deformation of "ferqa," division.

621 613 614 114 [171] It seems that it might be permissible to give the name of "clan" to the "tarfiq" of the Beni Ouriaghel. This is a familial group more numerous and more lasting than the "ikhs" of the Haut-Atlas and at the same time a sort of political unit. Doutté gives, wrongly according to us, the name of "clan" to the ensemble of families that constitute a jema^{c}a in the North

/239 cont./

621 613 614 114 171 /footnote 1 continued/ of the Haha ("Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," pp. 10-11. Now there is an association of "ikhs" of diverse origins there. On the other hand, the bond of blood exists among the households of the same Riffian jema^{c}a.

621 613 it includes about ten houses -- 30 to 40 hearths in all -- and becomes a group stsong enough to defend itself. The "tarfiq" heads, willingly set off by the title of "amghar," are feared and respected because they can then assemble 40 or 50 "brothers" 621 resolute for anything. For the most insignificant motive they 628 take up arms and engage in bloody battles with the neighboring 613 hamlets for long years. These are then veritable wars of exter- 726 mination, which end only in the disappearance or exile of the vanquished. The following example, selected in the fraction of the Aït ^{c}Abdallah, of the tribe of the Beni Ouriaghel, favorite country for soff struggles, will give the measure of the violence of these rivalries capable of breaking most of the social ties.

Discord broke out not long ago between two villages, each peopled by a "tarfiq," the Aït Qasem and the Ibouneharen, following the killing of a dog that belonged to the guest of an amghar. When the Aït Qasem refused to pay the blood price of the dog, namely 50 douros, claimed by the amghar, it came to blows and to war. Twelve men were killed the first day. In the following years 40 men died on one side, 62 on the other, in regular combat, not counting those who were assassinated for vengeance. Finally, the defeated party decided to leave the [722] country. Old men were then seen to take refuge with the women and children in the sacred mountain of the Zerhoun, after having sold their goods in order to be able, in one last effort, to buy a murderer who would avenge their dead. The conditions under [435] which this last was to make the designated enemy disappear were carefully detailed and the stipulations passed before the ^{c}adoul; if the shot killed the adversary, the recompense was /240/ 10,000

621 /240 cont./
628 reals; 5,000 if it only wounded him; if the bullet missed its
613 goal, 2,500. The marksman, however, fortunate or awkward,
726 perished the next day, struck perhaps by a child hidden with a
[435] gun in a thicket of lentiscus.

It is understandable that under these conditions the notion of
613 "khoms" is often obscure; the only group that can exist then is
619 the family, around which assemble by bonds of adoption and marriage the weakest groups and the outsiders so as to form the "tarfiq."

613 Discords sometimes become so violent that material life
628 frequently stops; only the women then dare to go out into the fields; the men come to pray at the mosque without abandoning
613 their guns. In these circumstances, the family heads of the
628 whole country gather together in order to decide on a "ribat,"
675 which is respected for several months. This name is given to a solemn agreement that binds all the members of the neighboring tribes to repress, by means of very high fines, murders, rapes, large thefts, aggressions at the markets or on the roads leading to
[681] them. The sums paid by the guilty, which can climb to several thousand douros, are divided among the contracting tribes. The "amghars," heads of the most powerful families, have only the small personal part that goes to them just as to mere individuals.

628 Among the less turbulent tribes of the Rif, as at Targist, at
184 Zerqet, among the Beni Gmil, private wars have not reached as
621 great a development since the inhabitants still succeed in living grouped in hamlets. The "mouda^{c}" or subfractions and even the
632 "khoms" sometimes summon all the warriors in order to deliber-
621 ate common affairs. This meeting, to which each one comes
613 armed, takes the name "agrao" as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/. Sometimes the chiefs of
[681] each of the important families put at the head of the khoms an
[671] amghar whose role is to see to the application of the customary law, to have the fines, or "insaf," paid, with which crimes are punished according to rules known by all, but not written. Like
[652] the moqaddem in the western Atlas, this amghar collects one third of the "insaf"; the other two parts go to the tribe.

/293 cont./

634 amghars covered with wounds command each "tarfiqt." Incapa-
631 ble of being on good terms with one another, the most that they
614 can do is to succeed in taking the pledge, in the name of their
578 brothers, to /294/ abstain from killing and stealing for a few weeks. Again, the "agrao" -- the meeting of all the armed warriors -- which accompanies the conferences of the amghars, is often terminated by a general melee. No chief can emerge from this anarchy.

792 In a great part of the Jbel, more to the West, where these
578 clan quarrels are less frequent, so that the inhabitants can live side by side and form veritable villages, religious leaders appear, shorfa /shurfa/ or marabouts, often of dubious origin. They live
[621] apart from the common people in separate hamlets; a little less
[465] ignorant than the masses that they dominate, less poor because
[794] they receive the tithe that these tribes willingly give them, they form a little natural aristocracy whose trade is to arbitrate con-
[648] flicts. At the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/ when the Sultan is powerful, they play the role of intermediaries between these populations and the caliphates and the pashas. But these marabouts are particularly well off in times of "siba"; then they know how to prevent private wars from breaking out and have the art of letting quarrels begin so as to be able to settle them. One sees them, during the periods when they act freely, found innumerable branches in the valleys that surround the large zaouia /zawia, zawiyah/ built near the tomb of their ancestor, and throwing over all the valleys of the high mountains a veritable network in which
792 the tribes are enclosed. Such in our day is the powerful organization of the Khemalcha marabouts, who exploit the confederation of the Senhaja of Srair; more to the West, it is the Oulad el Beqqal, less centralized and whose authority has clearly fallen, the marabouts affiliated with the brotherhoods of the Derqawa among the Beni Zerwal, the shorfas /shurfas/ of Wezzan with their zaouias of Snada, among the Beni Itteft, of Ichouken among the Ghomara; finally, on the holy mountain of the Jbel ʿAlam, the innumerable Idrisiyn shorfas, the most famous of whom in recent years was Moulay Ahmed Er Raisouli.